

THE
SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOLUME LIV

NUMBER 4

OCTOBER, 1953



THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHARLESTON, S. C.

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PRINTED IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.
BALTIMORE, MD.

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DR. THOMAS COOPER'S VIEWS IN RETIREMENT

By ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

Clemson College

After the seventy-four-year-old Thomas Cooper relinquished his position as president of South Carolina College, January 1, 1834, it might be assumed that he lived in quiet retirement until his death on May 11, 1839. This, however, was not the case. Almost to the end he remained vigorous, spending his time editing *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, experimenting with new methods of manufacturing iron, and maintaining a lively interest in science and politics. Among Cooper's extant letters written after his retirement are several to his close friends, Congressman James H. Hammond and Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank of the United States. Occasionally he also wrote to President Martin Van Buren.

In his correspondence with these three men during the years 1835 through 1838, Cooper discussed among other subjects, medicine, religion, the crisis over French spoliation claims, poverty in England, the Nesbitt Iron Works on the Broad River, the tariff, abolition, political science, and the economic struggle between the agrarian South and the commercial North. He was quite critical of the abolitionists, the English upper classes, and governments in general, the United States Congress in particular. Many of his letters contained acid comments about prominent politicians of the day.

Included here are representative passages from most of Cooper's unpublished letters, 1835-1838, to be found in the Biddle, Van Buren, and Hammond papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. For the sake of clarity, the following passages have been given primarily a topical rather than a chronological arrangement.¹ Spelling and capitalization are unchanged, but ampersands are rendered as *and*.

With respect to the diplomatic crisis over the French spoliation claims, Cooper wrote to Hammond in a manner severely critical of William C. Rives² and the Jackson administration. He believed the North, not the South, would benefit from the impending war.

"I see the President has made out a tolerably strong case against France; but the true motive of the Chambers there, is disgust at Mr Rives's boasting of having gained in his negotiations more than he had a right to expect.

¹ Research for this article was in part made possible by a grant from the Claude W. Kress Fund, Clemson College. For Cooper's biography, see Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1759-1839* (New Haven, 1926).

² William C. Rives, a Virginian, was minister to France, 1829-1832, 1849-1853, and U. S. senator during most of the interim. He handled negotiations leading to the indemnity treaty with France in 1831.

It will be a most melancholy event if we are to go to war either to defend what is indefensible, or on a point of mere etiquette. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*. It is right: the people ought to suffer for the folly or roguery of the rulers of their own choice."³

Two days later he continued: "The statement in the President's message, is conclusive against the french, on the face of it. But the real cause of ill humour, is the ideotish boast of Mr Rives of having outwitted the french ministers. The present ministry of France cannot openly notice this; but if Mr Rives's representations are *true*, it a fraud on France: if *false*, an insult.

"It surely does not comport with the cool and reasonable character of the American people to rush into a war on a point of mere etiquette. If a monarchical people will to do, a republican people ought not. In the present case, I should deem it sufficient, if we abolished the privileges granted to the French in contemplation of the treaty, and at the utmost adopt a system of non intercourse. But Rives has hurt the feelings of the nation and we ought to allow for it.

"Your administration will most gladly plunge into a war, because it will give them the disposal of 30 millions a year in jobs and contracts, and fix the present system permanently upon us. Rely on it, that altho' we shall certainly beat them ship to ship, we shall be inferior to them fleet to fleet. The pugnacious disposition of Jackson comes in aid of the bribery system of Van Beuren, and the administration tempted by the disposal of an immense war expenditure. A few years of suspended intercourse will permit angry feelings to wear away on both sides of the water, and then like the quarrels of man and wife, the parties will kiss and be friends. But if we determine to act while the iron is hot, instead of waiting till we can handle it safely; both sides will burn their fingers.

"It is high time that there should be some thing like common sense in the world, and republics should show an example of it. Upon these general grounds, I should oppose any thing farther, than a partial non intercourse, and [should] go into a detail of expense and of correspondent patronage to show not what are, but what may possibly be the lurking motives to an imprudent system of hostility.

"Suppose you enter into a war, which side is to yield? Will it not be a war interminable till one of the parties is utterly exhausted as to pecuniary resources? Then again, under a system of licensed privateering, whose commerce will suffer? Will it not be ours? Where are our resources to come from, when commerce is cut up on every sea? Will it not lead inevitably to the curse of an encreased Tariff? Most gladly on the part of the Northern

³ Cooper to Hammond, Dec. 15, 1835, James H. Hammond Papers.

States, for with them exclusively will the war expenditure be expended. It is a terrible prospect before us, which I think the South ought not submit to."⁴

On several occasions in the spring of 1836 the elderly Cooper gave his friend Hammond detailed advice about health and the proper use of medicines.

"I did not expect to have to put in practice my own prescription so soon after writing you. The night before last I was seized with indigestion from dining off pudding; viz rice boiled in milk, and raisins. My temples began to throb, and thump on my pillow: shooting pains through my head. About 10 in the morning I took magnesia, and lost 14 oz of blood. I still felt a dizziness and confusion of the brain. I applied 4 cupping glasses to the nape of the neck and took away 3 oz of blood. While this was going on I took an oz of Epsom salts. I supped on a dish of tea, and 2 pieces of dry toast. About 2 o'clock in the morning I was wakened by shooting pains through my head on the right side. I got up and took 20 grains of calcined magnesia, my stomach being hot, and acid. I drank a quart of water. About 3 o'clock I fell asleep. This morning I have had 3 cupping glasses again applied to my neck but [c]ould not get more than 2 oz of blood. However, I am now free of all pain, dizziness, and violent pulsation. Indeed I consider myself well. Cupping is really an invaluable remedy, but it should be preceded by bleeding, or the system does not feel the impression even locally.

"I keep a lancet, a silk ribband as a bandage, and some cotton, always in my pocket book in my pocket of my pantaloons: for at my age, the slightest excess or impropriety in diet produces 1st Indigestion, then apoplectic Symptoms, and I chuse to be prepared . . . I warn my family of my pocket repository of bleeding apparatus."⁵

Cooper believed that Hammond suffered from "the fashionable malady of apoplexy consequent on indigestion." He named several prominent men who had suffered and died with it, including the British statesmen Canning, Castlereagh, and Liverpool. Continuing his advice, Cooper wrote: "Men who live well and fully, and take wine moderately, overload the vessels of their system. If they sit still, and put their heads to hard service as well as their stomachs, they infallibly become sufferers: they induce, a gouty, and apoplectic diathesis, or habitual tendency. And in old people, it is generally attended with palsy. Preston⁶ is aware of this, and on his guard. Be you so too. Remember, I write on the basis of the old adage, *experto crede Roberts*. I find it hard to abstain from the good things of this world, but hard as it is, I have been taught by experience the necessity. I cannot be as bold as the frenchman in the Epigram:

⁴ To Hammond, Dec. 17, 1835.

⁵ To Hammond, March 20, 1836.

⁶ William C. Preston, U. S. senator from S. C., 1833-1842.

Mon medecin me dit souvent Que trop de vin me tue: Et me defend absolument De toucher une fille nue. S'il faut renoncer au bon vin Au Belle, brunette et blonde, Adieu Monsieur mon medecin Je vais pour l'autre monde.

And he w[oul]d have chosen rightly if he had been a Mahometan.

"When the Almighty placed Adam and Eve in Paradise, he called them to him and he adressed them. 'Look there: do you see that tree? Is it not beautiful? The fruit of it is most delicious, and in every way desireable: it will give length of years, length of enjoyment, it will give knowledge and wisdom, and make you like the Gods. But mind: if you touch it—if you eat one morsel of the fruit, I will kick you both out of the Garden, and make ye work for your living, and then consign ye to the grave.' All this was no doubt, kind, and good and well meant: why he put the tree there to tempt these poor creatures, we cannot say. But so it is in the world. All the desireable things in it, must be taken with such nice and guarded caution, lest they prove poisons as well as pleasures, that the whole of our lives seems a mockery."⁷

A few days later Cooper gave Hammond advice concerning the latter's proposed trip in upper New York state, but he doubted that the waters at Saratoga Springs would help the Congressman. He added:

"Go to Niagara: using on the road as much exercise as you can pleasantly bear. Riding in a carriage is no exercise.

"Let no feelings of hunger tempt you at breakfast to eat a mouthful of new, hot bread. It is absolute poison. Eat the toast of stale bread, or else the crust of corn bread, or crackers. Eat no bread of the tavern manufacture.

"Eat no eggs, no milk, little butter. The acids of the stomach renders all these indigestible.

"Eat if you please a mouthful or two of beef-stake for breakfast, with bread at least a day old; or rather with crackers or biscuit.

"Eat beef or mutton, at all times rather than chicken or fowl. And with it, potatoes or rice, rather than greens. Do not dine once on meat, and again on pastry.

"*Abjure wine and spirits.* Drink moderately if at all of porter or ale. Eat animal food once a day and no more.

"No hot bread at supper, or any where or at any time. Toast, is good. If you feel acid eructations or hea[r]t burn, take half a teaspoonful of calcined magnesia: of which most excellent medicine, carry with you at least 4 oz. No day passes with me that I do not take to the amount of a full teaspoon. If on feeling head ache with acid eructation, one dose of magnesia does not cure you in half an hour repeat it, and again.

⁷ To Hammond, March 31, 1836.

"If you require medecine for the bowels, the best is Rhubard, 30 grains beaten into small pieces, and chewed and swallowed. The powdered drug is always worthless from adulteration. You may if you find it necessary, join with it a pill of 4 grains of the blue (mercurial) mass, but do not take it unless you want it. It is a bad practice to make the bowels the center of revulsion: it induces costiveness; a habit to be dreaded. . . .

"Remember, *life is not worth living*, if it be attended with indigestion and costiveness. Remember also, that starving, not physic is the only cure for these ailments. Physic is temporarily a relief, but permanently mischievous. . . .

"I have given you advice which experience and necessity have absolutely forced upon me. I feel the force of prayer 'Lead us not into temptation': I am by no means thankful for being so often led into it. I cast a very ill tempered evil eye upon my own prescriptions and I follow very reluctantly my own advice, good as I know it to be."⁸

Cooper's letters to Nicholas Biddle dealt mainly with politics, the Bank, and Cooper's scheme to promote Biddle's candidacy for president in 1840, apparently on the Whig ticket. Most of these letters have already been published in the McGrane volume of Biddle's correspondence.⁹ A few of the old doctor's comments on various statesmen are worthy of repetition. He looked upon Governor Pierce M. Butler¹⁰ as "a man of no brilliant talents, of no acquirement, but of great worldly tact and resource, and extremely popular."¹¹ In comparing William C. Preston and John C. Calhoun, he wrote that they were "both able, and both honest men: both regarded throughout the State, rather as looking steadily at the central Government, than as guided by a purely South Carolinian spirit. They are therefore not popular. Calhoun is rather borne with, than supported. He has talent, but without tact or Judgement. Remember, I am giving you, what leading and thinking men say. Preston has more talent, more tact, more judgement, and is as honest as Calhoun. They are on the field of political competition. Preston is more approved. But he is too much of a diplomat: too much non committal; too Van Beurenish, but much superior to V. Beuren. People distrust him from his manner, more than they ought. But he is not popular. He has not the leading mark of a great man, he cannot attach to himself a corps of personal thorough-going friends." Cooper believed that Daniel Webster had a "character for talent, but he is not qualified for a leader. He has no personal friends. He is a good partizan parlia-

⁸ To Hammond, April 7, 1836.

⁹ Reginald C. McGrane, ed., *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle* . . . (Boston, 1919).

¹⁰ Pierce M. Butler, governor of S. C., 1836-1838.

¹¹ To Biddle, May 14, 1837.

mentary debater, but he cannot trace out the plan of a political campaign, nor is he fit to be at the head of it."¹² Upon another occasion Cooper wrote that "Webster is a dextrous debater, but he has no judgement, no energy, or boldness of character. The man has no personal courage, and cannot succeed: he is made to be governed."¹³

Quite often Cooper severely censured the conduct of governments—state, national, and foreign, and his opinion of politics in general was rather low. To Biddle he once called the national House of Representatives "that house of ill fame."¹⁴ But his most caustic remarks may be found in some of his letters to James H. Hammond. Expecting war in Europe, he wrote as follows, January 8, 1836:

"The Demon of Discord has shaken his wings over both Continents, and the struggle must come on between Liberty and Despotism in Europe. In this country the base spirit of money making servility, will prostrate all independence of character among us, for the few real patriots, will by and by retire in disgust." A few weeks later he declared: "As to politics, I utterly despair. Selfishness acted on by Patronage prostrates all principle."¹⁵ On another occasion he severely castigated the English upper classes and their government:

"I have carefully read the interesting letter you were so kind as to inclose, and I agree to all its contents in relation to our own country, where the poor have nothing in fact to complain of, for if they cannot find employment adequate to their necessities in our great towns, they can emigrate to western lands where all kind of labour is and for a century will be, in full demand. Except perhaps the poor seemstresses of New York and Philadelphia, who are compelled to eke out their quarter dollar a Day, by reluctant prostitution. I think Tappan was right in his Magdalen report,¹⁶ and that nearly every other female of age fit for the purpose (from 16 to 35) is in some way or other a prostitute. But as all things are ordained for the best, in this best of all possible worlds, I throw up my hat, and huzza for the parsons, and the infinite kindness and benevolence of an all wise and overruling providence. In England I was, and should still be a decided Radical, altho' here, I incline to the Conservatives. About 1/8th of the population of Great Britain, are kept from starving either by compulsory taxation, or by charitable subscription. . . . The state of the populace in England is such as ought to induce them to rise. The Earl of Stafford, and the Earl

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ To Biddle, July 1, 1837.

¹⁴ To Biddle, Dec. 16, 1837.

¹⁵ To Hammond, April 11, 1836.

¹⁶ Arthur Tappan, president of New York Magdalen Society, which in 1831 sponsored a sensational report exposing conditions in New York City.

of Westminster in the course of half a dozen years will have £1000 sterling per day of annual income. The labour of the people has been wasted in Palaces all over the country and in places of worship of no earthly use whatever; and it would be a bold assertion to praise them for any heavenly purpose. The folly of the Egyptians Kings who built the pyramids is not more egregious, or more demonstrative of popular ignorance and servitude, than the useless piles that adorn that most aristocratic country. I want to see wealth here as well as there, but wealth distributed not in the senseless profusion of European folly, but sufficient to enable us to have all the comforts and conveniences, and all the really enjoyable luxuries of life. Ticknor¹⁷ of Boston has lately been on a visit to the house of the Earl of Fitzwilliam I think, whose servants amount to more than 100. I detest a system that enables a palace to look proudly down upon 100 cottages and poor houses underneath. If the Radicals in England, succeed, they cannot introduce a more detestably wasteful government than that which they are aiming to overthrow. Who can wonder who has been in Europe at the french outcry of *Guere au Chateau, pais au Chaumiere*. I should add in England *A bas les Pretres* (the shovel hats)."¹⁸

Cooper's lack of faith in the Federal government was clearly revealed in his discussions of the rising abolitionist movement. Nearly all his letters to Van Buren and some to Hammond showed his growing concern over the anti-slavery agitation. On this critical issue Cooper was a staunch champion of Southern rights. On December 30, 1835, he wrote Hammond as follows:

"From all that I can hear, the course you and Mr Pickens¹⁹ have so well and so ably taken, is a prudent course. But I see as clear as the Sun at noon day, that you will have a very difficult game to play with the cunning classes of opponents, whose intention is to defeat you. They will certainly avoid any decisive vote on the question [abolitionists petitions], for the whole of the *populace* in the middle and northern States are against you, and the Van Beurenists will not commit themselves in hostility to such a mass of ignorant voters.

"Could not the business take this shape. Motion to resolve, That the Congress of the United States possesses no right to interfere with, or in any manner to regulate the system of domestic servitude adopted by any state, territory, or portion constituting the United States. They will move to lay this on the table, which means that it shall never be debated. But the sooner we come to an *eclaircissement* the better. If they persist in their

¹⁷ Probably George Ticknor, Harvard professor and biographer of William Hickling Prescott.

¹⁸ To Hammond, March 20, 1836.

¹⁹ Francis W. Pickens, congressman from S. C., 1834-1843.

right to interfere, because the North and the South are equally parts of one common system of Government, the sooner we separate the better; for we shall be kept in hot water till the fanatics become (as they will become) powerful enough to influence the vote of the federal Legislature. Even upon the question now mooted we shall be beaten.

"I am glad to find you and Pickens sit together. Take care to consult and weigh well the form that opposition will take against your motions, and be prepared to meet the management of adversaries before you [move]. You have both gained credit here, but be cautious as well as firm."

In his next two letters to Hammond, Cooper painted a very dismal picture of Southern chances for arresting the slavery controversy.

"... the absorbing Slave question, and the alarming extent of patronage, the immense power of corrupting, and the unexampled willingness to be corrupted, stupifies me. I see nothing redeeming in the national character as displayed in your pandemonium of Representatives. Even on the Slave question you cannot depend on the Southern Van Beuren members.

"Your table will be loaded with insolent petitions, till the house will say there must be a decisive report on them, and they will be referred to a Committee. In this case, I should leave the house, because I hold the house has no right to appoint a Committee and report on the question. If the report should even be strongly in favour of the South, the Southern members must refuse to accept it, otherwise they sanction legislation on the subject. But the report will be insidious and ambiguous.

"If the Southern members cannot be brought to act as one man, and to quit the house in a body when the report come up, the South is sold.

"Pray get the most able and spirited Southern members to meet in caucus till a plan can be devised to force a decision of aye or no, on the right of discussing. If the Northern members claim the right of discussion, it implies a *claim to act on the question*; for why discuss a subject that you are prohibited from acting on? You and Pickens and Waddy Thompson²⁰ have well sustained the Southern character; but you are young members, you have a most difficult game to play, and you should as I think, force the honest Southern members into *private* caucuses to lay down the plan on which you must finally act. I foresee it will end in a dissolution of the Union, for we have no safety in any other measure. But I fear the Southern Van Beurenites."²¹

"As to the Union, you s[houl]d read my letter to Webster. The silly outcry in its favour has been raised by the northern aristocracy who from the year 1788 have been the gainers, and the Southerners the dupes of the system. It is a war-breeding coalition of States. It establishes an *Imperium in Imperio*; a central government of organized waste, extravagance, bri-

²⁰ Waddy Thompson, Jr., congressman from S. C., 1835-1841.

²¹ To Hammond, Jan. 8, 1836.

bery, beyond any thing ever before known. Its patronage can only be broken up by breaking up the system. The fanatics, on whom reasoning is wasted, will assuredly get up a crusade against us, if we continue this political farce. As to Virginia you may say of her as some others.

*Jockey of Norfolk be not so bold
For you and your masters are bought and sold.*

To talk of the *mind* of Virginia being with us, is nonsense: How do you count noses? says old Pearson the doorkeeper of the H[ouse] of Commons.

*Give me her body: take her mind
Which has the better bargain?*

"I have no doubt the great majority (all but the Unionists) in S[outh] Carolina are in sentiment with your correspondent; but S[outh] Carolina will stand alone. . . .

"I disapprove of the eternal panegyrics on our union, which as construed, is worse than good for nothing; and is at best, worth little but for imaginative declamation; that is, to the South; to the North it is the widow's cruise of oil, a fountain of living waters, an inexhaustible pretence for solemn cheaterly under the forms of Law; and protected by grave exclamations about the inestimable value of our national compact; which the rogues well know, is only made to be broken for their benefit. These canters talk also about their religious feelings! A never failing march of innate deliberate rascality. . . . The yankees put me in mind of Shakespear, 'He is a Knave; a very Knave; a worsted-stocking knave.' This construction of the Union will fit any northern leg. However, the end approaches—a consummation in my opinion, devoutly now to be wished by every Southron.

"Burke, in his fine piece of indignant declamation, when he headed the minority that left the house of Commons, exclaimed 'To yourselves, then, I consign you: enjoy your Pandemonium!' You will have to do the same. It [House of Representatives] is the very worst specimen of a political bawdy house, I have read or heard of. And the Senate, is the very counter-part of the Senate of Tiberius."²²

Although he sought to push Biddle forward as a presidential candidate, Cooper at the same time courted President Van Buren's favor with the hope of turning it to Southern advantage on the matter of abolition.

"Observing in the Charleston Mercury a short time ago, a very acrimonious and ill-judged Tirade against you, I thought it right to make the enclosed reply. . . . I have no hesitation in saying, that the voice of the great majority of South Carolina, of all parties, is conformable with views taken in the inclosed paper.

²² To Hammond, March 20, 1836.

"Your pledges on the abolition question are felt and approved: they will tell greatly in your favour in the South. But counteracting measures must be taken in the middle and northern states to prevent the effect of Abolition becoming the countersign of a powerful political party. I think difficulties are gradually clearing away from your path. . . . Whenever you wish for information which as a South Carolina Nullifier I can honestly give, command me."²³

"A section of the political party in this State, to which I belong, is strongly inclined to uncompromising hostility toward you and your administration. My feelings revolt at this system of prejudgement, I cannot go with this portion of the Nullifiers. It seems to me a condemnation in advance, neither honest nor wise. I have conversed with leading men of our party, and the great majority of those with whom I am accustomed to act, *do not approve* of this condemnation at the threshold. They think with me, that you *have* done good service to the South, and that the natural course of events will lead you, from a wise consideration of your own interest to do more. I hope and trust it will be so: and you will see by the inclosed, that I have endeavoured (and I am fully persuaded not without success) to induce the people at large to think as I do. I think that at this moment the general feeling in S[outh] Carolina is favourable to you.

"It is your manifest interest to run your political course with as few lets and hindrances as possible. The South has two leading interests, on either of which this part of the Union, will assuredly persevere in their demands, at the foreseen expense if necessary, of separation and war. They are 1st to be quiet and unmolested on the question of domestic servitude; and [second] The Tariff on the faith of the Compromise-Act. Both these will be obstinately contested by the South *ius que ad internecinem*. A separation will do great injury to both of the hostile parties at first, but the South may live and prosper even if the North and South line should be permanently drawn: but the sources of wealth are in the South, the North has no hopes from separation."²⁴

"Many of what is called the Union party here, *may* go for Mr Clay, but your decided rectitude on our great question, has put you upon high, and commanding ground, not only in this State but in the South generally. I have daily evidences of this. There are objections among us to some of your minor projects, but the question of *Domestic Servitude*, will ultimately like Aaron's rod, swallow up all the rest. *À la bonheur*: I am content. I take the liberty of suggesting these ideas, which you will estimate as you think fit. I doubt if this State will long go with Mr Calhoun, but it will go with you, for the reason I have assigned."²⁵

²³ To Van Buren, March 27, 1837.

²⁴ To Van Buren, April 14, 1837.

²⁵ To Van Buren, March 19, 1838.

Several times during 1837 Cooper asked Nicholas Biddle for financial aid for the Nesbitt Manufacturing Company, an iron manufacturing corporation located in Spartanburg District. Later he even asked President Van Buren for government assistance, but the Nesbitt stockholders were never able to float a loan outside South Carolina. Eventually, after much patience and delay the company's creditors forced it into bankruptcy.²⁶ Cooper's letter to Biddle on November 9, 1837, gave a brief summary of the company's properties and financial condition.

"There is about 2000 acres of Iron ore of qualities from 20 to 60 per cent, in solid hills and abundant in veins, with two furnaces and another in contemplation immediately in the midst of this body of ore. Limestone in inexhaustible abundance is every where contiguous to it. Eight thousand acres of woodland, furnish fuel. We have a dam substantially built 300 yards long giving us command of the whole Broad river. A race, on which we hope to have a furnace, a rolling and slitting mill, and saw mill in less than a twelve month. We own 5 or 600 acres of corn land; horses, mules, and 135 Negro Servants. Our stock *paid in* is about 120,000 dollars. If we do not after this year produce at least \$80,000 per annum it will be for want of Capital: as the case now is.

"Our stockholders are 15, the Shares 500 dollars each. The proprietors, Col. Wade Hampton, Governor Butler, Col. F. Elmore and his brother, Judge Earl and his brother, Col. Browne of this place, Col Nesbitt, and seven more minor people in point of Property,²⁷ who propose giving their own personal security in addition to a mortgage on the Property for a Loan of 200,000 dollars. This sum exceeds the convenience of our bank here: and we have to look elsewhere, not from any suspicion of Security, which I am sure Mr Colcock and Gen. Hamilton²⁸ would say was ample, but from real scarcity and remaining fears of the money market.

²⁶ Cooper was trying to persuade the U. S. government to establish a foundry at the Nesbitt Manufacturing Company. He wrote Van Buren, March 19, 1838, that "such a measure would (I think) much strengthen your already growing claims upon and interest in this State." Considerable additional material about the iron company may be found among the Franklin H. Elmore Papers, Library of Congress. The company's properties were mainly on Broad River separating what are now Cherokee and York counties.

²⁷ Sixteen investors were associated with the company at one time or another: Thomas Cooper, Wade Hampton, II; Governor Pierce M. Butler, Congressman Franklin H. Elmore, Benjamin T. Elmore, former Congressman Wilson Nesbitt, Judge Baylis J. Earle, Samuel N. Earle, John G. Brown, James M. Taylor, E. W. Harrison, Moses Stroup, William Clark, General Joseph Shelton, W. E. Martin, and Dr. James E. Nott. Miscellaneous memoranda, Elmore Papers.

²⁸ Charles J. Colcock, president of the powerful Bank of the State of South Carolina, 1831-1838, and James Hamilton, governor of South Carolina, 1830-1832, and president of the Bank of Charleston, 1835-1838.

"Can you, give me any information, how and where to negotiate this loan to the north of us? If not Can you put me in the way of probably procuring it in England? . . . If this loan does not suit you, I shall be thankful for any hints that might put us in the way of getting it in England. Or Col. Elmore who is in Congress would go to Philada. to have a conversation with you on the subject."

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THE FOURTH ESTATE OF SUMTER SOUTH CAROLINA*

By THOMAS McALPIN STUBBS

University of South Carolina

Edmund Burke, in a speech before Parliament, is quoted as saying that there were three estates in that body: Clergy, Lords, and Commons. Pointing to the reporters in the gallery, he added: "Yonder there sits a fourth estate more important than they all." The term "Fourth Estate" has persisted, and the influence of the press which he proclaimed has steadily increased.

The history of the press in Sumter, with its twenty-odd newspapers, their editors and publishers, is an important phase of local history that is little known.

Not many years after Burke is purported to have coined this term, a newspaper was published at Stateburg called *The Claremont Gazette*. No copies are known to exist, but reference to it in 1786 is to be found in Charleston newspapers. Its purpose seems to have been to promote Stateburg as the site for the capital of the state, and it is strongly suspected that both the Reverend Richard Furman and General Thomas Sumter had a hand in the project.

For forty-three years, no other newspaper appears to have been published in the District. As late as 1827 there seems to have been no press in Sumterville, for the *Memorial Resolutions*, protesting the tariff on woolens, drawn up at a mass meeting held in the Sumter courthouse, September 3, 1827, were printed in Charleston by that highly respected dean of printers, A. E. Miller, and copies were ordered released to papers in Charleston, Columbia and Cheraw.

The violent sentiments that were engendered by the "Tariff of Abominations", the protective tariff on woolens, gave birth to Sumterville's first two newspapers, representing the two opposing factions.

The small *Sumter Gazette*, which was to be the organ of Nullification in Sumter District, was begun late in 1829. The name of the first editor has not been discovered, nor any issues for the first two years. Issues of the next two years, 1831-1833, are in Montgomery, Alabama. The first issue of that file is labeled Volume III, Number 1, which seems to indicate that

* This article was prepared from files of Sumter newspapers in the Library of Congress, the Alabama Department of Archives and History, the Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina, and privately owned files in Sumter; and from a number of printed articles and books. It was read November 6, 1951, before the Fortnightly Club of Sumter.

two years of publication had gone on before and at other hands, for Jack Hardman, the new editor and publisher, says: "This paper has been purchased by the subscriber from the original proprietor." Its mast carried the legend from George Washington: "Nothing but Harmony, Industry and Frugality to Make us a Great and Happy People." We learn from this early issue that the paper advocated State's Rights. A few other interesting facts are gleaned from its pages: the Sumterville Academy was under the management of James Caldwell; the Claremont Troop of Cavalry was then in existence, as well as the Lodebar Light Infantry, and a semimilitary Patrol for the management of Negro slaves. By November 1831, John Hemphill's name first appears in the news and by June 2, 1832, John Hemphill and David J. McCord opened offices for the practice of law in Sumterville. Hemphill is important not only because at this time he became the leader of the Nullificationists, making one of the two rival Fourth of July speeches that year, but because, on September 15, 1832, he became editor of *The Gazette*, and thus his views gained a wider influence. When he became editor, the mast was changed to read: "Free Trade, Carolina and the Constitution". Hardman remained the proprietor. Other items of local interest reported in these years were the death of the venerable General Sumter, and the opening of Edgehill and Bradford Springs Academies.

Whether *The Gazette* was published beyond the last of August 1833, is not known, for no copies have been found. It was to be revived in after years (1845) by other hands. Who Jack Hardman was we have not learned. Hemphill was still in Sumterville as late as June 1838, when he paid up a local account. Texas was beckoning him—greener fields, wider horizons, the Mexican War, the chief justiceship of the Texas Supreme Court, and the Confederate Cabinet.

The Unionist faction in Sumter District found an able advocate in young Maynard Davis Richardson of Bloom Hill plantation, a recent graduate of the South Carolina College and member of the bar. The first issue of his paper *The Southern Whig*, appeared on January 26, 1832. In his introductory editorial, Richardson says: "The original title of our sheet was the *Southern Whig and Sumter Herald*, but, owing to the oversight of the type-founder, the latter portion of the name was not included. We trust this deficiency will not impair our identity, and tho' we lack the profession, that we may prove an humble 'Herald' of the party which had for its object the reconstruction of the old State Right School of '98 and '99, where sound political doctrines were understood and taught."

Mr. Richardson's good friend and schoolmate of the South Carolina College, young James Henley Thornwell, who had come to Sumterville to teach, soon joined forces with Mr. Richardson on *The Southern Whig*. Together they poured forth strong sentiments for the Union cause. Not

only did they work conjointly on *The Whig*, but they projected a purely literary journal, to be published every two weeks, to be called *The Southern Essayist*. No copy of the latter has been found and perhaps the swift movement of events frustrated these plans.

The Fourth of July 1832, brought forth fiery oratory from their rival, John Hemphill, in favor of Nullification. Mr. Richardson voiced strong Unionist views to his faction. Later on in the day, certain members of the opposing parties engaged in fisticuffs in Sumterville at the corner of Main and Liberty Streets. A general brawl was narrowly averted, after which members of the two factions repaired each to his favorite tavern, where their wrought-up feelings were in time subdued by resort to John Barley-corn.

Mr. Richardson died slightly over three months after these stirring events. En route with his father from Columbia to Sumterville, he was taken suddenly ill, and died shortly before his twenty-first birthday.

The *Whig* of October 27, 1832, carried the obituary notice of Mr. Richardson, an editorial in praise of him by the new editor, William Haynsworth, who had temporarily taken charge, and an announcement that Andrew Jackson was declared the nominee of the "Union Party." Soon Mr. Richardson would be memorialized by the publication of a small volume containing certain of his essays and poems, and a lengthy biographical sketch and tribute at the hands of his good friend, William Gilmore Sims.

Mr. Thornwell appears to have left Sumterville soon after his friend's death. In time he was to become a distinguished Presbyterian minister, president of South Carolina College, and a pro-slavery orator.

Mr. Haynsworth remained editor of *The Whig* until February 1833, the last issue found. Whether it ceased publication then or later, is not known, but *The Whig* marked the first appearance as editors of Sumter papers of members of the Richardson and Haynsworth families, and these names appear time after time in later years and generations, both as newspaper editors and lawyers.

No issues of Sumter newspapers have been found from 1833 until 1845. Perhaps the celebrated Clay Compromise of 1833 brought to an end the need for these two strongly partisan newspapers. *The Southern Whig*, by April 1834, had been bought by *The Camden Journal*, whose name was thereupon changed to *The Camden Journal and Southern Whig*.

Although Sumterville apparently had no newspaper during these years, Sumter District contributed an able newspaperman to Charleston. From 1841 through more than thirty years, William Murrell of Stateburg was associated with *The Courier*, generally as editor.

Apparently the press and other materials of the old *Gazette* remained in Sumterville, for about March 19, 1845, a new series was begun of the same

size as the old, eight inches by eleven, and apparently using the same type and press. George W. Hopkins was the editor and publisher. By April he was apologizing to his readers for the small size of his paper, and voiced the hope that he would soon be able to acquire a new and larger press, when he could assemble the necessary \$250 required for that purpose. The new paper was of State's Rights sympathies.

Later in April, Mr. Hopkins was urging his subscribers to forward their subscription money by the postmasters, "As our Representatives, like profound philanthropists, passed a law that all moneys for newspapers, editors, printers, and (we believe) Printer's devils, shall pass through the glorious Republic free of postage, knowing well, as they do, that the press is the medium for the diffusion of liberty and intelligence throughout the *World*".

But Mr. Hopkins' enterprise was short-lived, possibly expiring before the end of 1845. Why it failed is uncertain. At the time hordes of people, whole families, both Unionists and States Righters, were moving westward into Alabama and other states. So great were these numbers, that one exclaimed that unless there migrations ceased, Sumter District would soon lose half of its population. Of Mr. Hopkins' antecedents and his fate after the close of his enterprise we know nothing.

A larger press was soon brought to town and a larger newspaper (super-royal) was soon to appear in much stronger and abler hands than Mr. Hopkins'. On November 4, 1846, began the publication of *The Sumter Banner*, William J. Francis, proprietor. Ten years later it would be merged with *The Black River Watchman*, to become *The Sumter Watchman*. Of Mr. Francis' prior history we know nothing. After the merger of 1856, his name will again appear briefly as editor of *The Sumter Dispatch*.

A prospectus carried in the early issues announced that in politics *The Banner* would be strictly Democratic; that it would pay strict attention to local interests of town and district, and especially would "Endeavor to keep up—the enthusiasm—in regard to the connection of Sumter with Charleston and Wilmington by Railroad."

Soon the office of *The Banner* was removed "to the new building next to the lot of Mr. James H. Vaughan on the Stateburg road." The proprietor hoped "that the late failure [of Mr. Hopkins' *Gazette*] will not be permitted to operate unfavorably upon his enterprise."

The Banner had a number of different editors down to 1857, and its merger with *The Black River Watchman*. In the order of their appearance, they were Andrew H. Buchanan; Francis M. Adams; M. M. Noah, Jr.; Richard M. Dyson; J. S. G. Richardson; W. F. B. Haynsworth; Judge John T. Green; John Richardson Logan; John S. Richardson, Jr.; and Judge William Lewis. In 1854 Mr. Francis ceased to be proprietor and was suc-

ceeded by John Richardson Logan and John S. Richardson, Jr. Several of these editors were members of the bar as well.

The Black River Watchman first appeared on April 27, 1850, with the explanation: "After unavoidable delays, we at last have the pleasure of presenting to our friends the first number of the *Black River Watchman*."

Like its competitor *The Sumter Banner*, which was four years its senior, the *Watchman* seems to have had a great struggle to exist, for its ownership and editorship changed hands a number of times during its seven-year span of life. Perhaps the community was not large enough to support two papers, but the bright prospect of the soon-to-be Wilmington and Manchester Railroad doubtless gave encouragement to the hopes of success.

Begun by Allen A. Gilbert and John F. DeLorme as publishers, the *Black River Watchman* too had a number of editors and several changes in ownership. Among these editors were Thomas B. Fraser, John W. Ervin, L. L. Fraser, Jr., John R. Haynsworth, and John S. Richardson, Jr. In time Horatio L. Darr acquired an interest in the paper, and in 1857,¹ when the merger occurred, the proprietors were Gilbert and Darr. As in the case of *The Banner*, a number of the editors and publishers were lawyers, and later several became distinguished in other fields.

The years of the publication of *The Black River Watchman*, and, indeed, of its rival, *The Sumter Banner*, had witnessed many local changes. By the time of their merger, the War with Mexico was a matter of recent history, the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad was an accomplished fact, the town had taken on an air of greater importance, and by January 1, 1856, its name had been changed to Sumter.

As to the merger, the late Noah G. Osteen writes: "*The Banner* having been bought by Mr. John S. Richardson and Mr. Gilbert having gained control of *The Black River Watchman*, the papers were consolidated and the name changed to *The Sumter Watchman*, with Gilbert and Richardson as editors and proprietors, and John R. Haynsworth as editor." As to the cause of consolidation he says, "I presume that the papers had a hard time to get along."

Under the name *The Sumter Watchman*, this paper had a life of twenty-one years. But if we consider its origin to be that of its oldest forebear, *The Sumter Banner*, it is traceable back to 1846; and if we consider its termination that of its offspring, *The Watchman and Southerner*, which continued until 1931, then its life-span would be eighty-five years—a period witnessing the Mexican War, the War Between the States, the ten chaotic years of Reconstruction, the Spanish-American War, World War I, the Florida Boom, the Wall Street crash of 1929, the dying days of the Hoover administration, and up to the Bank Moratorium in the early days of the

¹ I have the date of the first issue after the merger as June 13, 1855. *Editor*.

Franklin Roosevelt era. Its pages reflect the running history of these great events and the changes wrought by them.

Shortly before the merger of the two older papers out of which *The Sumter Watchman* grew, there were connected with the old *Black River Watchman* two names which would be known in the newspaper field in Sumter, together or separately, for long years thereafter. To that paper came Noah G. Osteen in 1855, as a boy of thirteen to learn the printer's trade. In the spring of 1856, H. L. Darr removed from Charleston to Sumter. He was employed by *The Black River Watchman* as a practical printer, soon thereafter buying out the interest of John S. Richardson, Jr.

N. G. Osteen continued with the merged paper, and he has this comparison to make of Gilbert and Darr:

Mr. [John F.] Haynsworth having retired from the editorial staff, Mr. Gilbert was sole editor, while Mr. Darr directed the work of the office. They were both good printers and fast typesetters, Mr. Darr being classed as a 'swift'. But they were not alike in any respect, Mr. Gilbert being full height, dark complexion, a full head of black hair and with an impediment in his speech, and quite reserved in his manner, while Mr. Darr was inclined to be short, what hair he had was red, a florid complexion, a sky-blue eye that never rested, but was continuously moving from side to side, a free talker and inclined to be social in disposition. He was quick in all his movements, and so full of energy that he was always trying to keep the work ahead. He was miserable if he could not get the paper out ahead of time; at first he would have the forms ready the evening before, so the press could start early the next morning, but he would gain a little each week until the forms would be ready so early in the afternoon that he insisted on printing the paper a day ahead of the date. Before long it was the custom to go to press early in the morning of the day before the date, and then he kept on getting ahead until he went to press Wednesday morning for a Thursday dated paper. Then, to even up, the date was changed to Wednesday, but he would soon have the forms closed up on Monday.

To trace the history of *The Sumter Watchman* and its *Tri-weekly* edition during these years would be to relate the story of the War Between the States, the part Sumter played in that tragic struggle, and its impact upon the community. The *Tri-Weekly* edition, commencing about February 1861, was published for about three years. Gilbert and Darr were named as publishers, while Julius J. Fleming was editor for a part of its life.

Both editions carried at their masts Virgil's words: "*Timeo Danaes et Dona Ferentes*", with the further legend: "Devoted to General Intelligence and Southern Independence".

As to the *Tri-Weekly* edition, N. G. Osteen says it "did not deal in specials, but it had a steam-ship cut, and devoted some space to foreign news clipped from *The Wilmington Journal* or *Richmond Dispatch*, which papers

reached us on the train arriving about four A.M., and usually contained later news than could be gotten from the Charleston or Columbia papers, which arrived too late in the evening to be used before next morning. The paper lived until April, 1865, when General Potter's raid passed through Sumter and knocked the office into pi."

William J. Francis, having sold his interest in *The Banner* in 1857, soon seemed eager to return to the newspaper field. In 1858, together with Charles H. DeLorme, he began to publish a new paper called *The Sumter Dispatch*. This ran about three years when, says Mr. Osteen, it was bought out and killed by Gilbert and Darr. He adds: "The starting of *The Dispatch* roused Gilbert and Darr to the necessity of hustling, with the result that they made *The Watchman* a Tri-Weekly," and this explains the two editions of *The Watchman*.

A voice as strong in the Confederate cause as *The Watchman's* had to be destroyed by the invaders. After the Union victory at Dingle's Mill on Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, one of the first places seized, by General Potter's troops in Sumter in the evening, was the office of *The Watchman*. In the battle that day at least three elderly editors had been among the small band of Confederates: John Witherspoon Ervin, W. F. B. Haynsworth, of the old *Black River Watchman*, and W. J. Francis of *The Banner* and *The Dispatch*.

Captain Luis Emilio in his *History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry*, says "Here the soldier-printers issued a loyal edition of *The Sumter Watchman*". Their little paper was called *The Banner of Freedom*. Three copies of it are known to exist. One, framed, hangs on the walls of the Sumter Carnegie Library. The second is in the South Caroliniana Library. The third reached the University of Minnesota. The paper announced Union casualties at Dingle's Mill, and location of the Command and Brigade headquarters in Sumter. It gave a somber warning to the inhabitants that they were defeated and should so conduct themselves, and announced the glorious news that Richmond, Petersburg, Mobile and Selma, had fallen into Union hands. It did not announce Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox the previous day, for this news reached Gen. Potter later. Emilio himself probably edited this rare little sheet, but he does not say so, nor does he say that his soldiers wrecked *The Watchman's* office and press.

The Banner of Freedom as a one-issue publication, is not unique, for at Macon City, Missouri, in 1861, soldiers of the First Iowa Regiment printed a one-issue newspaper called *Our Whole Union*, upon the seized Confederate press of *The Missouri Register*.

The machinery and equipment of *The Watchman* being badly damaged, repairs were somehow made at the old railroad shops in Sumter, but it was

not until September 20, 1865, some four months later, that a new issue appeared. The old press was to be used for some years afterwards, and Messers Gilbert and Darr were to continue their association until early 1866, when Mr. Darr withdrew.

Mr. Gilbert's policy, in respect to *The Watchman* during the early years after the war appears to have been uncertain. Like many another, he felt his way along, not knowing what would happen next, what was the best course to pursue. National policy was yet to crystallize, policy in the state government was yet to develop. Until others pointed the way, Mr. Gilbert was to make no decision. When he finally decided, he took the wrong course—one that was to cause his undoing as a newspaper man.

Mr. Darr, after leaving *The Watchman*, published a weekly paper in Kingstree for a brief time. By spring, 1866, he was back in Sumter, and on May 21, 1866, the first issue of *The Sumter News* appeared, with Mr. Darr as sole proprietor until the fall of 1866. Mr. Darr, like his competitor was also perplexed and bewildered by the chaotic conditions prevailing. He determined upon a policy of leading Sumter's movement back to normal, but how to accomplish this was baffling. For his new venture Mr. Darr employed as editor, Colonel Franklin J. Moses, Jr., recently of the Confederate Army, a brilliant young man of a prominent local family.

Colonel Moses announced that he wished "to build up for the people of the District a real live paper"; he felt it "almost needless to say" that he would "be influenced by no consideration however powerful that they may be, either of fear, favor, or affection", as to editorial policy; that in his political course he would "ever be true to that sacred devotion to the interests of the South which has been instilled in us from our very growth. We will not be alone in our great work of Southern redemption and disenfranchisement. We have a strong power in the Government which is battling for our rights. If we know our own hearts, we have no aim in view than to uphold the strength of his hand, which has been raised in our behalf." Thus the editor expressed the confidence that many contemporary Southerners had in President Andrew Johnson, not only in his desire to accomplish a true reconstruction of the devastated states, but in his ability to achieve such a purpose.

About three months after publication of *The News* began, N. G. Osteen, recently a Confederate soldier, returned to Sumter and bought an interest in *The News*. This commenced the firm of Darr and Osteen, which was to continue for some years.

Messers Darr and Osteen were confronted by many problems, financial and political, national and local; also, they had to keep an eye on their strong competitor, Mr. Gilbert, a man of considerable experience, whose paper, *The Watchman*, had been established on firm ground for many years.

These proprietors were soon plagued, too, by the views of their editor, Colonel Moses, with whom they found themselves at cross-purposes, and whose editorial views proved to be distasteful to subscribers to *The News* as well as to the proprietors. So, about sixteen months after Col. Moses' fair start, he wrote his valedictory editorial. The proprietors replied, saying: "The manly and straight-forward course, which Col. Moses has pursued in his treatment of a delicate subject, leaves us little to do beyond the expression of our sincere regret at the causes rendering necessary a dissolution of the connections. That gentleman carries with him our best wishes for his success and a bright and honorable career."

Succeeding Colonel Moses as editor for the next four months was W. H. Johnson. For the three following years, Messers Darr and Osteen appear as both editors and publishers. Then, in January 1871, came Lemuel Bingham Gay as editor. Though a native of Massachusetts, he had previously taught in South Carolina, and had served in the Confederate Army. He was editor only ten months, dying in office in November 1871.

The editorial policy of *The News* began to change after Colonel Moses' exit, gradually at first and then at a more rapid pace. In time it became highly critical of its former editor, who had departed in an apparently friendly atmosphere. After the Democratic Convention of 1868, *The News* determined to abandon permanently its pale policy of cooperation with Washington, and assumed a bold, uncompromising opposition to Congressional so-called Reconstruction. As to this change in policy, N. G. Osteen says: "At one time *The News* was alone in its extreme position, but I have never regretted standing where we did."

To *The News* in December 1871, came as editor, Mr. William G. Kennedy, one of the most colorful editors of them all and one who never lacked in forth-rightness of expression. His editorial, written in 1872, concerning General Benjamin F. Butler, mention of whose name was likely to send Mr. Kennedy into fits of righteous indignation, says under the caption Modest: "Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Elizabeth L. Bladen, Olympia Brown, Susan B. Anthony and Josephine L. Griffing, an army of brazen-faced, characterless male women, forwarded to us a few days ago a Memorial, countersigned by that cock-eyed old spoon thief, *Ben Butler*, doubtless the paramour of some of the chaste sisterhood, with the request that we give it a gratuitous insertion in our paper. When we state that this precious memorial is a document of thirty pages in length, the unparalleled impudence of these unsexed creatures will be better appreciated. . . if they wish their memorial printed by us, we will do the work for them at our regular rates, paid in advance."

Beginning with the issue of February 29, 1872, *The News* carried at its mast: "Principles—Not Men. This is a White Man's Country and Must be

Ruled by White Men". This statement and policy were carried with its change of name to *The True Southron*, August 14, 1873. Mr. Osteen says: "This was at a time when Radical and Scalawag influence was dominant. . .". *The True Southron* became the most consistent and unrelenting "Conservative" paper in the State. It became more and more openly critical of its former editor, Colonel Moses, while its rival, *The Watchman* became more cooperative with the powers in office.

Mr. Kennedy continued as editor of the paper after its change of name on August 14, 1873; even the old series and numbering of *The News* were carried over consecutively into *The True Southron*.

Mr. Kennedy's valedictory editorial of July 8, 1875, says: "It would afford us great pleasure, if circumstances permitted, to remain in editorial harness 'till after the funeral of the dying monster [the corrupt Reconstruction government], as we would like to appear thereat in the roll of pall-bearer or chief-mourner, but whether clothed in regalia or not, and wherever we may be on that glorious occasion, we mean to turn out and take a hand at the wake and the burial of that hideous gnome that sucked [the state's] life-blood, for so many years, and sought to crush her people to the earth." We have found no record of Mr. Kennedy's activities on that glorious day of General Hampton's election in 1876. He was to survive until 1893, but did not outlive his *bete noir*, General Butler; the death of the former was recounted in one issue of *The Watchman and Southron*, and that of the latter in the next.

Mr. Kennedy was succeeded as editor by John J. Dargan, who remained about six months. After that, N. G. Osteen, himself, served several months as editor, and was followed by Charles H. Moise for a short time. From January 1877 until January 1881, Mr. Osteen apparently wrote the editorials although they are unsigned. Since the summer of 1878 Mr. Darr had been advertising for sale his interest in the paper.

With the issue of February 1, 1881, D. B. Anderson and W. D. Blanding appeared as editors and publishers. The new owners continued to publish the paper until July 1881. On July 26th *The True Southron* states: "On Aug. 2 this paper and *The Sumter Watchman* will be consolidated. This step has been decided upon after due consideration and with the advice of many of our best friends and influential citizens, and we think that our own interest as well as the interest of our patrons will be materially enhanced thereby."

Returning to the *Sumter Watchman*, Mr. Gilbert remained as sole editor until 1869, although interests in the ownership changed. Mr. Darr seems to have had an interest for a brief period, then Mr. Thomas E. Flowers came in, and until 1875 Messers Gilbert and Flowers were the proprietors. For about eighteen months (1875-6) Mr. T. E. Gilbert was added as editor.

The policy of *The Watchman* after 1866 and down to 1876 appears to have been one of cooperation with the regime in Washington and its agents in Columbia. As to this unfortunate policy Alfred B. Williams in his *Hampton and his Red Shirts* had this to say when the *Watchman* changed hands directly after the Democratic Convention of 1876: "A note of kindliness, rather unusual just at that time, appeared in the friendly mention of the retirement from the *Sumter Watchman* of A. A. Gilbert, twenty-six years its editor. A conscientious, stubborn man, thoroughly soaked with belief in the good intentions of Chamberlain, and disbelief in the possibility of a Straight fight, he was compelled by public sentiment to yield the place he had held so long to an aggressive battler for Hampton." After his retirement, Mr. Gilbert became a minister of the Methodist Church.

Between September 1876 and November 1877, Guignard Richardson and John J. Dargan became proprietors of the *Watchman*. A short while prior to November 1880, the proprietors were again changed to Richardson, McLaurin and Company, an arrangement that probably lasted until the merger with *The True Southron* in 1881, but the files are missing and this fact is not verified.

In 1881 *The Watchman* was bought by the Rev. Dr. C. C. Brown and Mr. N. G. Osteen, by whom it was consolidated with *The True Southron*, becoming *The Watchman and Southron*. For the next four years its proprietors were listed as the Watchman and Southron Publishing Company, which was succeeded by N. G. Osteen as sole proprietor.

Its editors were listed as D. B. Anderson, formerly of *The True Southron*, and Dr. Julius A. Mood, who was described as "A graduate of the highest honors from Wofford College." Editor Mood, in his salutatory editorial, says, "I will not give a descriptive catalogue of my numerous deficiencies in editorial ability, as that would anticipate the individual discoveries which are so gratifying to the critical mind." Dr. Mood served as editor only from September 1882 until the following March, when he gave as the main reason for withdrawing, his "increasing professional business". Editor Anderson's name disappeared from the paper at this time, and he soon moved to Alabama. Dr. C. C. Brown does not appear ever to have been editor-in-chief, but he wrote a religious column called "Religion, Morals and Philosophy", which appeared down to 1885. After Dr. Mood's withdrawal, Mr. N. G. Osteen probably wrote the editorials until Colonel W. F. Rhame became editor in 1884.

The Fair Enterprise, which was being published in 1879 by the Ladies' Monumental Association of Sumter, was a small four-page sheet published for the sole purpose of raising funds for, and otherwise promoting the building of, the Confederate Monument. This project was initiated in 1869 and the cornerstone was laid in 1874.

The Sumter Advance (1882-92) was begun by Mr. H. L. Darr after selling

his interest in *The True Southron*. It carried at its mast: "Words spoken may be forgotten, but that which is written or printed becomes a record." Mr. P. E. Parmalee, a Pennsylvanian, aided him for some years in this publication. Upon the death of Mr. Horatio Darr, his son, Horace Laidler Darr, continued its publication down to 1893. Its press, materials and equipment were apparently sold to the proprietors of *The Sumter Herald*, as will be shown.

The Spirit of the Times (1882-84) was begun in 1882 by Mr. Charles H. DeLorme, (who has been mentioned in connection with *The Sumter Dispatch*), with Mr. W. J. Beard, a lawyer, as editor. Mr. Beard was succeeded by Mr. Harry J. Haynsworth, also a lawyer. The latter appears to have acquired the press and equipment in 1884, when he closed it, and, transferring the machinery to Manning, is said to have commenced *The Manning Times*. Later removing to Greenville, Mr. Haynsworth became one of the distinguished lawyers of the state.

The Sumter Mirror (January-December 1882) was published only once a month for twelve months by Miss Mary M. Darr. It is the only newspaper enterprise ever undertaken in Sumter by a woman. Its life-span was brief, possibly due to the overcrowded newspaper field at that time, when there were three competitors going. This was at a time when women were becoming increasingly conscious of Rights for Women.

The Temperance Worker (1883-7), a semi-monthly established in aid of the temperance movement, was published by Mr. N. G. Osteen of Sumter, while its editor was the Reverend Hilliard F. Creitzberg, of the Methodist Church. Its publication was continued from Sumter, although the editorials were written first at Sumter and later at Newberry and Chester.

The Sumter District Reporter (1885-86) is the name of a paper to which we have found a reference, but know nothing as to its editors, owners or policy.

The Freeman was commenced on April 21, 1891, by John J. Dargan as editor, and E. F. Miller as business manager. Colonel Dargan had been for brief periods editor of two earlier Sumter papers, *The True Southron* (1875-76) and *The Sumter Watchman* (1877), and having removed to Texas, he was editor-in-chief in 1886, of the *Austin Daily*. *The Freeman* carried at its mast the words: "Stand forth unfettered and free; servants only to the truth."

In its salutatory editorial, the editor announced: "*The Freeman* is an ardent advocate of 'the rights of women'. The right of women to work in stores and on farms and factories, and on newspapers, and in telephone, telegraph and railroad offices, and in all sorts of other things that men sometimes think they alone can operate successfully."

Mr. Miller had been trained as a practical printer on *The Atlanta Constitution* and is said to have brought the first linotype machine to Sumter.

By 1893, the name of Mrs. Virginia D. Young appeared as associate editor of a woman's column. This innovation was in keeping with Colonel Dargan's views; indeed two of his daughters for a time worked as typesetters here.

This paper had its origin and much of its life during the controversial era of Ben Tillman, and its editor was not one to abstain from entry into these issues. *The Freeman* was to witness and report upon the retirement of General Wade Hampton from political life at the hands of the Tillmanites, who had at last been aroused to the power of the ballot in the shaping of political affairs. It was to witness the approach and culmination of the Spanish-American War. But by 1897, Colonel Dargan appears to have retired, while Mr. Miller served in both capacities until 1900, when W. C. Ivey became editor for the next two years.

By 1904 it was carrying news of the Russo-Japanese War. In October of that year Mr. Miller announced editorially that "The Freeman Publishing Company. . .intends publishing a daily and a semi-weekly edition of *The Freeman*." Mr. H. C. Haynsworth was named managing editor, assisted by Mr. Herbert A. Moses. No copy of the semi-weekly edition has been found, and *The Freeman* appears to have been discontinued at about this time.

The "daily" referred to by Mr. Miller, was apparently *The Evening News*, which appears to have had a life of about a year and a half, in 1904-5. Messrs Hugh Haynsworth, R. F. Haynsworth and H. A. Moses were its editors.

The golden period of most constructive usefulness of *The Watchman and Southron* was beginning. Colonel W. F. Rhame resigned as editor in 1887 to be succeeded by the Rev. Mr. John Kershaw, 1888-1890.

On December 30, 1887, Sumter received one of its most tragic blows when Magistrate George Edward Haynsworth was shot to death in his courtroom in an exchange of fire between two factions of embittered lawyers, whom he was in the act of putting under peace bonds. Magistrate Haynsworth was distinguished as having fired at Charleston, the first shot of the War Between the States at the *Star of the West*. Recalling this, Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* screamed: "Retribution has been a long time in overtaking the Justice."

The Reverend C. C. Brown, in his funeral oration on New Year's Day, in deploring this wanton slaughter of a foremost citizen, reached this eloquent peroration: "Oh, my countrymen! Men of this Church, of all Churches, of no Church! Lawlessness and riot have made too heavy a draft upon us: We are paying too heavy a tax to blackguardism and vice. The climax has now been reached, and if our country has no laws to meet a case like this, then we must make a law, for right is always law, whether written or unwritten." Alas, the accused were all acquitted!

The Reverend Mr. Kershaw's greatest usefulness as editor was in the promotion of the establishment of a graded public school. This matter was urged editorially in 1889 and the school established, but it was not until 1893, after Mr. Kershaw's resignation, that the modern building was completed. Mr. Kershaw's anonymous interest in spiritualism was reflected in certain news stories of the period, especially in the phenomena attributed to the Negro girl, Daisy Robinson, in Sumter during 1889-90.

The Watchman and Southron was to faithfully record and to promote local expansion and improvement, such as an adequate city water supply and sanitation; lighting of the streets by electricity; the first local manufacture of ice; and the erection of the new City Hall after the old one burned.

Mr. Kershaw was succeeded as editor in October 1890 by "Mr. Mark Reynolds of this county, who has been for the past few years a member of the Columbia Bar. . . [he] has accepted the editorship of *The Watchman and Southron* and has a law office with Mr. T. B. Fraser, Jr." Soon after, we note in the news the promotion and development of Clemson College, the beginning of *The State* newspaper of Columbia, and the establishment of Sumter's first telephones.

The first issue of *The Sumter Herald* in 1892 followed the last issue of *The Sumter Advance* by only six days. Obviously the make-up and press of the old paper were used. Its first issue is numbered Vol. XXI, No. 1, and it thus carried on the numbering of the old *Advance*. No editor or proprietor was named for it until 1893. Apparently Mr. S. A. Nettles of Manning was the proprietor. By 1894 a heated local newspaper controversy had arisen. Mr. Nettles was accused by other local editors of catering to Negroes. It was pointed out that the Rev. J. A. Brown, colored, had been appointed associate editor of *The Herald*. This was emphatically denied by Mr. Nettles, who also said that *The Herald* had been sold to Mr. A. W. Knight.

The Watchman and Southron editor countered by quoting at length from the writings of the Reverend Brown, as they appeared in *The Herald*, in which he signed himself "Associate Editor". The outcome of this controversy seems to have been the origin of Sumter's first Negro newspaper, *The Journal of Progress*. Its editor was the Reverend C. C. Scott, and its business manager the Reverend W. G. Deas. This paper was published in the offices of *The Herald*.²

The firm of Knight Brothers was established in 1894, composed of Messers

² Information regarding the several short-lived Negro newspapers published in Sumter has been difficult to obtain; it is doubtful that any files are in existence. We have seen only a few issues of the *Samaritan Herald*, and must rely upon vague memories and word-of-mouth information. Five such ventures by Negroes have been published by Knight Brothers under contract. How long the *Journal of Progress* lasted is not known. S. J. McDonald recalls another paper in the early 1900's, whose now unknown editor attacked certain local Methodists ministers on the score of

John M. and A. Wilkes Knight. Having acquired the interest of Mr. Nettles, they continued the publication of *The Herald*. Upon the retirement of Mr. A. Wilkes Knight, Mr. Furman Knight acquired his interest, and upon the death of Colonel John M. Knight in the early 1900's, Mr. Arthur Knight, a fourth brother, acquired his interest, and thus the firm of Knight Brothers was continued.

The Herald was edited by Colonel John M. Knight until his death, and thereafter until 1937, by Mr. Furman D. Knight, who died at that time. Mr. Herbert Moses was editor of *The Herald* for a brief period about 1905.

The "Simon Cooper Lynching" was a sensational affair which is still, remembered. It was reported in the *Columbia State* on January 8, 1897 by a representative of that paper and reprinted at length by *The Herald* in its issue a week later. Public opinion in South Carolina was somewhat divided about this unfortunate occurrence, but the Sumter papers generally deplored it. *The Herald* said editorially: "We do not uphold mob law or lynch law, but hundreds of helpless women and children in Sumter County breathe freer and sleep better now that Simon Cooper is beyond the power of murder and outrage."

After the death of Mr. Furman D. Knight in 1937, his son, Mr. F. Jenkins Knight continued to publish *The Herald* each week, much as his father had done, until February 1, 1952.

In 1892 Sumter's three papers all joined in advocating the promotion of a public library. A new jail was built. Messers W. F. B. Haynsworth, T. B. Fraser, Jr., and McDonald Furman were appointed to organize a Sumter chapter of The South Carolina Historical Society. This was the hey-day of bicycling. The prospect of the opening of the Chicago World's Fair was much in the news. The Democrats exulted in the election of Grover Cleveland.

By 1893 the stand-pipe for furnishing an adequate water supply was nearing completion, with "sufficient pressure to throw a stream of water 75 feet high through a hose attached to a hydrant in any portion of the city." Even a horse-drawn street railway was envisioned for Sumter. The Confederate Monument, projected long before, still lagged in completion.

By August 1893, *The Watchman and Southron* had a youthful new editor

addiction to strong drink. They, especially the Rev. James D. Sampson, retaliated from the pulpit, the paper failed and the editor left town. *The Defender*, of Republican views, was commenced between 1908 and 1912 by W. T. Andrews, a graduate of Fiske and Howard (L.L.B.) Universities, a lawyer, who left Sumter between 1915 and 1920. *The People's Informer*, Democratic, was begun by E. A. Parker between 1936 and 1941. It was merged with the *Lighthouse* of Charleston, and is still being published in Columbia by John H. McCray as *The Lighthouse and Informer*. When the *Samaritan Herald* commenced is not known. The Rev. McKenzie Harrison sold it about 1938 to the Rev. H. B. Brown, of Job's Temple, who changed the name to the *Samaritan Herald and Voice of Job*, and discontinued it about 1940.

in the person of Hubert G. Osteen, who, having succeeded Mr. Mark Reynolds, was soon to be found in Chicago, reporting the grandeur of that city and the wonders of the World's Fair. Progress was being made on the construction of Sumter's new City Hall. This was an era of stringent finances. Plans were going forward, however, to establish a much-needed hospital. Apparently Bishopville would become the seat of a new county to the northeast. Would it be named "Salem" or "Ben Tillman"? Moultrie, Jasper, Rutledge, Pinckney, Hayne, Lowndes, Calhoun, McDuffie, or Legare? The "Gamecock Carnival" in Sumter in the autumn of 1894 was much in the news. This was soon followed by the death of Robert W. Andrews, the oldest man in the county, at the age of one hundred and five.

In these surroundings a lusty new arrival was brought forth in the offices of *The Watchman and Southron*, and was announced by *The Watchman* a week ahead, the editor adding that while it will be printed in the *Watchman* and *Southron's* offices, it would not in any wise interfere with the regular edition of this paper.

The new arrival, *The Daily Item*, was small, about ten inches by fifteen at birth. Its slogan was "First, the Growth of Sumter". The proprietor, Mr. Hubert G. Osteen, expressed his belief in the need of a daily paper in Sumter. In politics it would be "truly democratic", and the size would "be enlarged as soon as it is evident that the patronage will permit the consequent increase in expense." Mr. E. I. Reardon was stated to be in charge of the local department. The *Daily Item* has persisted, grown larger, and still appears daily except Sunday. When Mr. Hubert G. Osteen retired in 1946, his son, Hubert D. Osteen became editor.

The *Jet Gazette*, printed weekly in Sumter for the personnel of Shaw Field, was commenced on January 29, 1942, under the name *Shaw Field Flight Line*. It has had several changes of name.

Sumter's Fourth Estate has served well in many ways, not the least of which is a week-by-week, if not day-by-day recording of Sumter's history. Complete files of all these newspapers would be a treasury and storehouse of local source material. Alas! at best, only partial files exist.

SOME LETTERS OF THE BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM FAMILY 1858-1868

Contributed by SARAH AGNES WALLACE

The Habershams of South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, New York, and the far west, are descended from James Habersham (1712-1778),¹ who in 1738, migrated from Yorkshire, England, to Georgia, in company with his friend, George Whitefield. In 1740, James Habersham was married by Whitefield to Mary Bolton. Their son, the second James Habersham, married Esther Wyly; and it was their son, Richard Wyly Habersham, a lawyer, who on May 18, 1808, was married to Sarah Hazzard Elliott, at Walnut Hill, near Beaufort, South Carolina. The second son of this couple was Barnard Elliott Habersham. A number of Habershams are buried in St. Helena churchyard.

In a strong box in the Library of Congress is a collection of 269 Habersham letters, which begin about 1828 with the marriage of Barnard Elliott Habersham to Emma Mathewes of Charleston. The bridegroom was then a partner and travelling agent of the firm of Mathewes and Habersham, one of the early import-export business houses of the South. Barnard Elliott Habersham's letters of that period convey the impression that he was discouraged in his attempt to sell rice in the small towns of South Carolina and Georgia. His letters of 1850 show that he had studied divinity, graduated at La Vert College at Talbotton, Georgia, and was seeking from the Bishop an appointment in a town to which he could bring his wife and educate his children. After his ordination, he seems to have settled at Madison, a small banking and cotton-shipping town sixty-seven miles southeast of Atlanta. Emma and the children stayed frequently with her relatives, and at times with some branch of the numerous Habershams.

Judging by Emma's attempts to comfort him, Barnard Elliott Habersham was no more successful at attracting members to his church than he had been in selling rice for his Charleston firm. His wife wrote several times each week, long four-page, closely written letters, in an effort to cheer her absent husband. These letters are largely a record of the sayings and doings, the sickness and recovery, of her four children, or her relatives. A few of her husband's replies she saved. He was equally devoted but more concise. Returning to South Carolina, he was in charge of Trinity Church, Edgefield, from 1858 until 1860; and was rector, 1862-1865, of St. Mark's, Clarendon, now in Sumter County, where he resided in the then important railroad town of Manchester.

The eldest child, Ella A. Habersham, was frequently mentioned in the letters, but little is known of her. Richard, the third child, saw active service in the Confederate army, migrated to Brazil with his two brothers after the war, and died in 1868 in Rio de Janeiro. Frank, the youngest child, survived Brazil, and eventually died in Oregon. Robert, the second child, seems to have been physically weak always, and too wilful for Emma to control by prayers and switches, so he was sent away to school quite young. He studied surveying, but apparently saw little

¹ For a sketch by Robert Preston Brooks, see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

service in the war. His letters of that time are from camps and hospitals for the Confederate sick in and around Richmond. His first letter given below, shows him, not yet twenty, employed as a pioneer surveyor in the wilds of Alabama.

ROBERT TO ELLA

Way down in the Piney Woods
Covington County, Ala.

Jan. 20, [18] 58

My dear Little Sister:

Your very welcome and affectionate letter came safely to hand tonight, and was, as you may well suppose, an era in my career as a young engineer. You can see by the date of my letter that I am far beyond the reach of news, and almost beyond the reach of all communication with "the loved ones at home". The mail never comes, even to the country towns, more than once a week, and we do not send to town more than once a month, and that not regularly. So that it is only an accident if we get our letters monthly, if *then*. . . . I have now a letter before me, written to Father a week ago, and no one has been anywhere near a P.O. during that time.

I will write to Richie very soon and would have done so before had I not been very busy working from daylight to dark, and then drawing maps until bedtime, leaves me very little time for correspondence.

I hardly know when to give you any hopes of seeing me. I may get through our location some time in May, and in that case, I may perhaps come home about the 1st July, as I will be engaged about a month in office work after completing my field work. And then again, I may not complete the field work until July. . . . But, at any rate, I will try and call on you all at home some time next summer, if only for a few days.

Mr. Milner told me that he had some idea of making me assume the post of draftsman, and relieving me of my arduous field duties. I can hardly say which I will like best. My present position, although involving great exposure and very laborious exercises, is a very pleasant one to me, as it just suits my active temperament. While the other situation would afford me a fine opportunity for an indulgence in my taste for drawing and for improvement in that branch of the profession. . . . By the way, do you think my handwriting has improved any since I left home?

I cannot say what my salary will be yet. Mr. Millner told me that he always paid his young engineers in proportion to the amt. of service they rendered him. . . . Now I must close. It is very late.

Good bye. Write soon to your

Affec. Bro.

R. A. HABERSHAM.

Love to little Frank and Mother, and ax Tom "wa'e long a mout at me for?"

Address—Andalusia, Covington Co[unty], Ala.

[Addressed to] Miss E. A. Habersham, Edgefield C. H., So. Ca.

There are three or four long letters from Lieutenant Alexander Wylly Habersham, of the United States Navy until 1860. A younger brother of the Reverend Barnard Elliott Habersham, he married Jessie Steele, granddaughter of Francis Scott Key, and was rearing his five children at Annapolis. On naval ships in the Orient, he had learned the value of the merchant marine and the "China Trade". He sympathized with the South, as many Union officers did secretly. When released from the Federal prison at Forth McHenry, he entered into the import-export business in Baltimore with a relative, and became the largest coffee broker of the period.

ALEXANDER WYLLY HABERSHAM TO BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Md.
Dec. 25th, 1861

My dear Brother,

As you will judge from the heading of this letter I am a prisoner in the hands of this Govt. I was arrested on the 2nd inst. upon suspicion of being bound South, and being arrested only upon suspicion, was in prison several days without any charge being urged against me. Having upon one occasion however written a letter in which I asserted myself to be a Georgian, and as such owing allegiance only to my state and *through her* to any Govt. which she in her wisdom should see fit to assist in forming, I unfortunately created my own charge and am now perhaps held as a Georgian. This assertion was drawn from me in reply to an offer of the oath of allegiance to this Govt. which I of course could not take even though liberty was offered in the other hand. I am far away from you, and Brother R- wrote me some time since that he "feared I was living in an unhealthy atmosphere," but he did me injustice: for though I trust that both Christianity and common sense will ever prevent my becoming fanatical in this war, I equally trust that I shall never forget my duty. *At present* I am ready to die for our old state, whether it be in a prison or on the battle field—what changes the future may effect mortal cannot predict, but I am very confident that so long as my mind remains unimpaired, no inducement will be sufficient to lift my arm against my own blood. Upon this point my mind is completely at rest.

You are doubtless surprised to receive this letter. It passes unsealed through the hands of Col. W. W. Morris, who will read it as in duty bound, who will then seal it and forward it to Fortress Monroe to go by flag of truce to Norfolk, and to whose kindness I am indebted for the liberty of "writing South". You can answer by sending your unsealed letter under cover to "Comdg. Officer Navy Yard Norfolk, Va.," who is doubtless an old friend of mine and who will treat your letter just as Col. Morris treats

mine. I avoid Politics and Military matters myself, and it would perhaps be better were you to do the same. I want to know of Brother R[ichard] and his family. I have been very anxious about *him* since the Bay Point² affair, knowing that his plantation being so near, the possibilities are that he was in one of the two battles—was he hurt, and did he save his Negroes? Where are his family? You will readily imagine that I feel anxious about *you all*.

Here in M[arylan]d we are comparatively well off—extracts from many Southern papers to the contrary notwithstanding. They do not burn our homes, steal our negroes, and violate our women as has been said. We are “under the heel” it is true, but the heel is of iron only in a few cases. Let us do our enemies justice even though our only motive be to preserve a clear conscience that will enable us to strike them the harder in the fair and open field. Don’t imagine that because I am in prison I write “smoothly” because my letter is to be read. I write as I *feel*, and could I not do this, I would not write at all. I pray for the day when you shall come to our relief, it is true, but could not of course try to hasten it by one act of mine while I lived unmolested and surrounded by Northern troops. And even now while I am in prison, I am as helpless as ever, for purely through charity I have been placed upon my parole by Gen. Dix, at the request of Col. Morris. This takes me out of a close guard room, with many discomforts, and places me in a comfortable room with everything that I want. I cannot leave the Post it is true, but in every other respect I am free—they trust entirely to my honor, and treat *me in every respect* like a gentleman—both as regards official and social intercourse. Don’t imagine therefore that because I am in Fort McHenry, that I am also in a damp cell. And should it be in your power to lend a hand to any Northern Unfortunate, do so, if only to return kindness extended by Northern men to me.

Poor Jessie takes my fate hard. In her weak state it is difficult to bear up, but she tells me through her tears that she is proud of my imprisonment. For the rest we must look to Heaven. She has been to see me once after which she returned to Annap[olis], sold out furniture, gave up our house, and went to her father’s roof. Her health is about the same, but I hope for the best. She had a second boy just three months since—Henry Steele Wylls is growing like a young pine tree, age $4\frac{1}{2}$ years, and says “Bress the Lord, I hurrah for Jeff Davis. I’m a tree of the South”. He is prematurely bright, but won’t be put to his alphabet until he is 5 years old.

² Bay Point was at the entrance to Port Royal River. The nearby Confederate earthworks, Ft. Beauregard and Ft. Walker, were attacked Nov. 7, 1861, by the federal fleet, with transports carrying 12,000 Union soldiers. The entire Port Royal area was captured.

And how are Sister Emma and the children? Kiss Ella for me and apologize for me for putting her with the small Fry. I have little or no prospect of getting out for good as I have refused the oath, but there is a prospect of my being allowed to go home for a few days on Parole.

Love to all, from yr afft Br[other]

A. W. H.

While Lieutenant Alexander Wyly Habersham, or "Uncle Sandy," as the boys called him, was living in safety and comfort with his friend and jailer, the Union officer, the sons of his brother, the Reverend Barnard Elliott Habersham, were living in great danger. "Poor Robert" was down in the wilds of Brazil. The two younger boys, Frank only fifteen, were in Confederate camps, Richard near Richmond. His letters to his mother are full of complaints of hardships; but he was delicate and sickly and seems to have escaped any actual service on the battlefield. There are no letters to tell just where the two brothers were in the final days of the Civil War. They had lost everything, plantations, slaves, servants, stores, in the war. Robert, the black sheep of the family, was doing well apparently in Brazil, and was urging the family to join him there. Frank, the youngest, went first.

RICHARD TO ELLA

Head Qrs., Hampton Legion

"Camp Wigfal," Jan. 4 [1862]

My dear Sister

The best news that I can give you is the box has come at last. Came on New Year's Eve, just in time for the opening of the new year. It was enjoyed exceedingly and everything answers as you intended. The cake was not very stale. The rusks were hard but eat nicely when toasted. I gave the most of it to Ellison who seemed to enjoy it. As you may suppose, very little of anything is left now. David Du Bose's things I gave to Samuel Gaillard, who gave me some of the cake, took some of it himself with some of mine, and gave the rest to *Hickory Log mess*. The pepper was also divided with the other Mess. By the bye, you seem to think that David and I are in the same Mess. You are mistaken, he is in one Mess and I in another. Still that makes no difference, for when one has anything, he divides with the other. You neglected to say who sent the cap, which I think is the prettiest—with one exception—that I have seen. The leggins fit exactly, and the Gloves come nicely into play. I have given a pair of them to Sam Gaillard, as he lost all of his when his box was robbed at Manassas, and the weather is so bitter cold that every one needs gloves here. Tell Miss Nannie I intend keeping hers for *Parties* and the *Battle field*. I suppose Miss Cora was under the same impression about the Mess that you were and sent the Cake as much for me as anyone. So I'll get you to thank her kindly

for me, and tell her that it added greatly to the pleasure it afforded to take it as a matter of course, that she assisted in the making.

Sunday, 5th.—I had to stop writing yesterday that I might go and see Ellison who has been staying with his brother for the last two weeks. His reason for doing so was to be by a fire while he was sick, and at the time I had none in my tent, but am glad to say that I have one now, and as you can readily imagine, find it much more comfortable than without one.

We have just received the news of the fight at Port Royal ferry. We were looking for the second part of it as the papers gave us to understand that they seem determined to get the S[avannah] & Ch[arleston] R. R. if they succeed, it will be torn up. So it will do them no good.

I don't know what to make of Cousin Cora. I have written to her twice and neither letter has received any reply whatever. I intend trying it again shortly, and if I fail again, I shall give it up till I pass through R[ichmon]d on my way home.

Be certain to thank Mrs. Du Bose and Miss Julia Brailsford for their very acceptable contributions to the box. Thank Margaret for her kind intentions, and as you say she made the cakes, thank her for them also.

Cousin Kate is mistaken about my being indebted to her a letter. I wrote her from "Camp Griffin", and have never received from her a reply, and don't know now where to direct. Is she in Charlottesville?

A young man from the W. L. Dragoons came very near being drowned while skating on a mill pond yesterday, and was saved only by one of the Georgia Rgt. throwing a plank to him. A short time after he was taken out, the young man who saved his life was drowned within a few steps of the same place. He was taken out with grappling irons but his breath was entirely gone. Be certain to write me about the *caps*. Ellison is getting well very fast. Love to all and "Howdyes" to the servants from

RICHIE

[Addressed] Rev. B. E. Habersham, Manchester, S. Carolina

ALEXANDER WYLLY HABERSHAM TO BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Fort McHenry, Jan. 18, 1862.

My dear Brother:

Night before last I received your letter of the 9th inst. It relieved me of much anxiety in regard to Bro[ther] R[ichard] and his family. We have indeed much to be thankful for.

Your suggestion in regard to my going to Brazil, if this Govt. will release me upon that condition, is out of the question at present. Why? Because in the first place I could not get a passport to leave this country without first proving myself loyal to the North by taking the oath. This of course you would not advise. In the second place, both my duty and feelings call

me to the South in this her hour of need, and I trust that I shall always be granted strength to perform my duty, even though it be in opposition to my feelings, which is not the case in this instance, Had I seen fit to lift my arm against you, I might at this moment have been in command of one of those gunboats which are giving you so much trouble at Port Royal. My old commission and such a command was offered me not many months since. Of course I refused it, and it was perhaps this refusal which caused the Govt. to keep its eye upon me. When I was first arrested, I myself made the offer, that if released, I would give my Parole to go to Japan, but it was refused except on the condition that I would take the oath. On the very day of my arrest, I had been informed by a gentleman from Japan direct, that my property there had greatly increased in value, but that my agent, in whose hands it all was, was drunk from morning to night, and that if I wished to save it, I must at once go out. This I could only do by swearing allegiance to this Govt., and though said agent is daily reducing me and my family to beggary during my absence, I have determined that I had better be reduced to an honest beggary than to save my property at the expense of my duty to my state and my own flesh and blood. As for subsistence during my imprisonment, this Govt. will give me healthy food as long as it keeps me in prison, I suppose, and my wife has a home with her father and mother, and enough in hand to keep her comfortable for three or four years, before which time something must turn up to set me free and enable me to make a fresh start.

The friend through whom you sent me a letter some months since, left Balt[tim]o[re] just in time to avoid an arrest of which he had been forewarned through the attachment of his servants, and is now passing his time in Canada. Now let me have a word about business.

In my last letter to you I mentioned the fact of my having offered to go South on Parole, to effect an exchange, failing to do which, I promised to return and deliver myself up. This was refused, upon the ground, I suppose, that I was not an officer of the C. S. Navy. Now though cheerfully willing to lose all my property, and to suffer personal imprisonment rather than desert my state, I wish to avoid the latter if possible, and I think it is in the power of my state, acting through her representatives at the Confederate capital, to secure this end. When offered the oath by the General commanding this Dept., I told him that as a Georgian I owed my allegiance to my state, and through her to any Govt. which she in her wisdom might see fit to assist in forming, and that consequently I could not swear allegiance to any other power. And it is upon this confession of my platform that I am now detained in prison. It seems to me therefore, that if possible, my state should interfere in my behalf. Why? Because would I but consent to desert her, I should be at once restored to both freedom and

worldly prosperity. I ask boldly of my state therefore, not as a favor, but as an act of justice, that I be commissioned a Lieut. in the C[onfederate] S[tates] Navy, after which there will be no difficulty in the Confederate Govt. having me exchanged for a Federal officer now in a prison.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not asking for a support *for office*. They may commission me if desirable *only for the war*. What I wish is to get South and cast my drop into the bucket. If she falls, I shall fall with her. Perhaps I may fall and she rise, again. She may rise and I live to help her to the end. In that case I should wish to resign and devote myself to my family, my state no longer needing the arm of each and everyone of her sons to battle for freedom. What I request you to do therefore, is to forward a copy of portions of this letter to Hon. A. H. Stephens and other friends of yours, and to Hon. Martin Crawford, R. R. Carter, C. S. N., Capt. S. S. Lee, U.S.N. and other friends of *mine*, and yourself to move any other influences within your control to assist in securing my commission and exchange. I erase Mr. Mann's name as he is at present in England, and replace it with that of a very old friend whose whole heart is mine I know, and whose family influence is very strong in Va.

Give my love to Sisters M[artha] and E[mma], and tell them that I don't know which of the two has most reason to be proud—the one of Manassas, or the other of Charlottesville Hospital. I am free to confess that my longing to see you all has something to do with my desire to come South.

As to myself and family, we are as well off as could be expected. I continue to be treated by Col. Morris and his subordinate officers not only as a gentleman, but as a *welcome associate*. I have made friends where are none but *enemies* to our *cause*, and this without deserting my principles one iota. To give you an idea of my treatment (and the same may be said of dozens of other prisoners) I hope soon to go home on parole for a month. And as for my wife and children, could I come to you tomorrow, I should not fear to leave them in the hands of the Philistines. Kind love to all from

Yr. Aff. Bro.

SANDY

[P.S.] Jan. 29th. This letter has been long detained. In a day or two I go to Fort Warren or Lafayette, whence I can only emerge through Southern aid in the shape of a commission. I am quite well. Jessie better. Love to all.

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

H[ea]d Q[uar]te[r]s Compton Legion
Camp Bartow, April 11, 1862

My dear Mother

Yours of the 2nd inst came to hand yesterday—no, it was the day before. It made me more homesick than I have been for a long, long time. We are

having the most beautiful weather. Everything is quiet now altho' on Thursday last we had a right to expect some work to do—that is the officers, the privates knew nothing of it till every thing was over. It appears that two Rgts. of Infantry and one of Cavalry of the enemy came to Stafford C[ourt] H[ouse], distant some fifteen miles from our camp, where our advanced pickets of about forty Cavalry are stationed, and surrounded them without their knowing it, till almost too late to do anything. They escaped with the loss of *two missing*. One was seen to fall under his horse that was shot, and it is supposed that before he could extricate himself, he was taken prisoner. Hood's brigade was sent after them, but did not succeed in overtaking them, as they returned after destroying all the papers in the clerk's office and taking away everything out of private houses that they wished. Hood's brigade returned yesterday looking very tired, and seemed very much disappointed at not having met the scamps.

I learned the other day that Bell Abury was married; I don't think anything ever surprised me more. No, not even if I were to hear that my "Little" Sister were indulging such ideas about herself. Does it surprise you, or did you know it before?

I wanted to go to church today but did not feel well enough to undertake the walk. I don't feel particularly sick, only a sort of Spring headache that I usually have such days as these at this time of the year.

Capt. M. is again very sick. Pneumonia is the complaint. The second day, I understand the Drs. thought him almost gone. He rallied, however, very quickly and is now staying at a private house in Fredericksburg, and was yesterday morning doing very well. He has no one with him but Jon, his servant, and seems to wish no one, so I have not asked to be allowed to visit him. I intend to try to go into town and will go to see him. Then if he wishes me to say with him, I will do so *if possible*.

Benny Nicholson—brother to the young lady who went deranged. By the bye, I see that Mr. Moore is a Lieut. in one of our Lyon County companies. A Lieut. in George's company tells me that Emmie Butler, daughter of Mrs. Wm. Butler, died very suddenly of pneumonia a few days ago.

Our Company has given about \$335.00 towards building those gun boats in Charleston. I gave five dollars, being all that I could spare out of my next month's pay.

Our camp is in a very large old field in which we amuse ourselves by taking a game of ball between drill hours.

We have had no reliable news from the west for some time, and as a matter of course are getting quite anxious to hear from that important post. The enemy is not near so active in N. C. as we were led to believe some time ago they would be in this month.

In my last I wrote, asking Father to secure me a place, if possible, on one of the gun boats being built in Charleston. I am very anxious to get the

place by the 19th June. By that time if I see no prospect of succeeding I will go under Jno Milledge³ rather than stay as I am. There I'd have some chance of advancement. Here I have not. Capt. M. intended promoting me as a non-commissioned officer. At that time there were two vacancies, since then three more, neither of which has he appointed me to as he promised but instead has allowed men to be elected who would see him dead before they would elect him to any office—such is their hatred for him, when by using the authority that the Govt. has given him, he could put his own friends in office without giving any more offense than he has already done. Any man who will abuse him can get an office in this company, but not so with his friends, and he must see that there is no care selecting the men and his unfortunate manner tends to deepen the hatred for him. In the last election for fifth corporal, my friends wished me to announce myself as a candidate. I did so, and until the very morning of the election had all chances to be elected, when one of Mr. Benbow's friends came out, and because I had always stuck to Capt. Milledge I was beaten, so strong is the feeling in Benbow's favor in this company, so it has always been, and Capt. M. should have sense enough to see that so it always will be, in every election yet for the office of corporal his friends have been beaten, and as I expect to be his friend but I see that he is not mine; he and I can't stay in the same company so long as he lays aside the military laws in favor of men who hate him as a large majority of this company does. Don't think that I am mortified and speak from a spirit of revenge. I have coolly thought over the matter and came to the conclusion that he cares so little for the company as to bother himself very little about its affairs, and he does not wish to make the men hate him more by laying aside a privilege that has worked to the advantage of his enemies for so long a time in order that his *few* friends might be benefitted by his doing so. This is what I disapprove of in his course and not of any *personal* want of attention towards myself. He is independent of the company as regards an officer, so it is not to his interest to bother himself about it, when by letting it take its course he can have an easier time. Don't forget the shirt. Love to all. Remember me to all friends. Howdye to the servants from

Your afft[ionate] Son

RICHARD

(To be continued)

³ This may have been a son of the John Milledge who married Catherine, sister of Barnard Elliott Habersham.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY
GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON

Copied by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from July)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Gottlieb Rodman, are requested to attend his funeral, at the corner of Rutledge and Montague Streets, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Wednesday, November 12, 1823.)

Died, at Wilmington N. C., Col. A. F. M'Neill. At Kingstree, Williamsburg District, Dr. George Erving, aged 34 formerly of Cheraw. In Princess Anne Co. Va., Major Jonathan Woodhouse, aged 56, a soldier of the Revolution, Magistrate and respectable citizen. In Cumberland, Pa., Dr. Wm. Crawford, formerly a member of Congress. (Thursday, November 13, 1828.)

Died, on the St. John's (East Florida), October 12th of a fever which he contracted in an overland journey to Savannah, Lieut. Ethan C. Sickels, son of the late Garrit Sickels, of New York. (Friday, November 14, 1823.)

Columbia, November 11. An inquest was held by West Caughman Esq. one of the Justices of the quorum for Lexington district, on the body of a white man, found in Saluda river, at the plantation of Mr. David Drafts. . . . Verdict of the Jury "that he must have been drowned in Saluda river, but could not discover when, where, or in what manner." Gazette. (Saturday, November 15, 1823.)

Died, in Jay (Mass.) on the 8th ultimo Mr. Moses Pierce, aged 99 years. . . . He was seized with a slow fever for 27 days, during which time he took neither food nor drink except a little cold water. . . . He has left no earthly relative. . . . (Monday, November 17, 1823.)

At Savannah Mr. Ebenezer Parker, aged 61, a native of Massachusetts, and 33 years resident of Savannah. At Columbia, Mr. James Johnson, Engineer of the Public Works; Mr. Uriah Blackman. At Wilmington (N.C.) Col. Archibald F. M'Neill; late of the U. States Army, aged 55. At Germantown (Pa.) Frederick G. Scheffer, Esq. late editor and proprietor of the Baltimore Federal Republican, aged 30. At West Whiteland, (Pa.), 29th ult. Mr. Joseph Bowen, aged 35; and on the 30th, his brother Oliver aged 32; and within a month before, a third brother Holland, aged 42, the two last married within a year past. (Monday, November 17, 1823.)

Departed this life in this city on the 30th ult. Miss Ann Ross Glover, youngest daughter of Sanders Glover, Esq. deceased, aged 22 years. She has left a disconsolate widowed mother, and many relatives to lament her early death. Having for a considerable time labored under a consumption. . . . (Monday, November 17, 1823.)

The friends and acquaintances of the late Mr. William Cessna, and of Mr. John Achison, are requested to attend the Funeral of the former, from the residence of Mr. Achison, corner of Church and Amen streets, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Tuesday, November 18, 1823.)

Married, on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Richardson, Mr. John Miller, aged upwards of 40 years, to Mrs. Julia Ann James, not quite 15, all of Hartford county. . . . Balt. Pat. (Wednesday, November 19, 1823.)

Died in Michigan, Lieut. James Bowdoin Allen of the U. S. Army from Massachusetts. At Washington, Henry H. Redmond, aged 30, late a Lieut. in the U. S. Army. Near Wilmington, D[el]. Refine Weeks, author of a volume of Poems. At Middletown N. J., James Mott, Esq., aged 84, formerly treasurer of the state, and Member of Congress. At Marettta, O., the Rev. Joseph Willard, late of Newark, N. J., four days after the death of his wife, by a prevailing fever. (Wednesday, November 19, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. William Swift, are requested to attend her funeral, without further invitation, from No. 336 (residence) King-street, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Wednesday, November 19, 1823.)

Died, at Arkansas, Sept. 23d Dr. Richard H. Fenner, aged about 29 years, formerly of Franklin county, N.C. Near Marietta (Ohio), Rufus Putman, aged about 90, a Brigadier General by brevet, at the close of the Revolutionary War, and afterwards a Brigadier under Wayne. At New York, Benjamin F. Bourne, Esq. a Purser in the Navy. In Princess Anne county (Va.) Major Jonathan Woodhouse, aged 75 years, a Patriot of the Revolution, At Sierre Leone, Lieutenant Dashiell commander of the U. S. sch[oone]r Augusta. (Friday, November 21, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Luke H. Fraser, and of Mrs. Harriet Fraser, are hereby invited to attend the Funeral of the latter, from No. 108 Church-street, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Friday, November 21, 1823.)

Died, at Sierre Leone (Africa) Lt. Richard Dashiell. The family of Lieut. D. reside in Washington City. . . . At Alicant, Spain, Don Bartoleme Renguenet, for 12 years Spanish Consul in Philadelphia. . . . At Wilmington (N.C.) Capt. George Cameron, aged 64. At Newport (R.I.) Capt. John Trevett, aged 76 an active naval officer in the revolution. At St. Mary's (Ga.) Capt. Allen Champlin, of the U. States revenue cutter Crawford, a native of Rhode Island. In Alabama Mr. Henry Olcott, aged 28. At Huntsville (Alab.) Mrs. F. T. Rose, sister of Mr. Madison, the late President of the U. States. At Fredericktown (Md.) William M. Beall, Esq. aged 81 late Postmaster at that place. At N. Haven 6th inst. Mr. Timothy Gorham aged 70, his wife died only a few days previous. In Royalton (N.Y.) Oct. 22d, Daniel Hickcox, Esq. aged 55; and on the 29th, his sister Mrs. Polly Richardson, aged 44. . . . At Columbia, Mr. Charles L. Cline, printer, formerly of Philadelphia. At New Orleans, Dr. Elisha S. Alexander, aged 30, from Vermont. (Saturday, November 22, 1823.)

Died, on the 11th inst. Capt. James Thomson, in the 60th year of his age. . . . for the last 32 years an officer in our Custom-House. . . a mild and affectionate husband. . . . (Monday November 24, 1823.)

Died, on board the U. States schooner Grampus, two days after leaving Tampico, Mr. Lomerly, late purser of that vessel. At Fort St. Anthony (Missouri) on the 31st of August, Ludwig Angel, a native of Switzerland, aged 62 years. He was one of the company of ten persons, four men, two women and four children who had travelled through the wilderness from the British settlement, founded by the Earl of Selkirk, on the Red River to that post. For ten days previous to their arrival they had subsisted solely on roots and briars, and worn with age, infirmities, hunger and fatigue, this unfortunate man expired two days after their arrival. (Tuesday, November 25, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mr. John Henry Marshall, are particularly requested to attend his Funeral from his late residence corner of Charlotte and Elizabeth streets, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock without further invitation. (Tuesday, November 25, 1823.)

Died, in this district Mr. John H. Marshall, from blows received in a scuffle on the 3d instant. At New York, Mr. Peter Crary, aged 75. In Sullivan county (N. Y.) Livingston Billings, Esq. aged 36. At Philadelphia, John Mark, Esq. aged 77. Joseph Rogers, Esq. aged 71. At Lancaster (Pa.) George Greff, Esq. aged 66, an officer of the Revolution. At Norfolk, Dr. Alexander Whitaker, aged 58. (Thursday, November 27, 1823.)

Died, at Jonesborough (Tenn.) Oct. 20, David Deaderick Esq. . . President of the State Branch Bank there. In the District of Columbia, Mr. John Bright, the oldest stage-driver in that vicinity. (Friday, November 28, 1823.)

Married, on the 30th ult. on James Island by the Right Rev. Dr. England, Mr. John M'Intyre of this city, to Mrs. Margaret Hanahan, of the above place. (Tuesday, December 2, 1823.)

Died, on the 15th November, Mrs. Mariah Rebecca Arm, in the 34th year of her age, after a short but painful illness. (Wednesday, December 3, 1823.)

A Jury of Inquest was impanelled yesterday morning, on Kiddell's wharf, to inquire into the cause or causes which led to the death of Archibald Steel, a native of Irvine, in Scotland, aged 72 years, one of the crew of the ship Roger Stewart, Captain John Cooper. . . their verdict, the deceased came to his death by an accidental fall. John Michel, Coroner for the Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael. (Thursday, December 4, 1823.)

Died, at Georgetown, Gen. Robert Conway, formerly of this city, a soldier of the Revolution, aged 70, interred with military honors. On Black River, aged 63, Mr. James Green. (Monday, December 8, 1823.)

Died, near Georgetown, (D.C.) of apoplexy, aged 53, Baron Frederick Greuhm, Minister from Prussia to this country. . . and interred with public honors. At Norfolk, George W. Camp, Recorder of that borough, a respectable Mason and Christian, and interred with military, civil and masonic ceremonials. At Albany, George W. Mancius, Esq. formerly Postmaster of that city. (Monday, December 15, 1823.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Eugene O'Reilly, and Caroline B. O'Reilly, are requested to attend the Funeral of the former, from his late residence in Queen-Street, at 3 o'clock This Afternoon, without further invitation. (Thursday, December 18, 1823.)

Married, on Wednesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Howard, Mr. William A. Shepherd, to Miss Mary M. Wilcox, both of this city. (Friday, December 19, 1823.)

(To be continued)

EPITAPHS FROM MARTIN-AIKEN FAMILY CEMETERY, FAIRFIELD COUNTY

Contributed by MRS. JAMES C. HEMPHILL*

Edward Martin, Esq.
Born Oct. 11, 1758
Died Dec. 24, 1813

Margaret Martin, wife of
Edward Martin
Born Feb. 11, 1761
Died Feb. 1789

David Martin
Born March 12 1762
Died Feb. 19 1812

Margaret Martin, wife of David Martin
Died Sept. 7, 1847 age 70

Robert Martin
Died Dec. 29, 1811
age 82 and
Wife Rebecca Martin
Died Oct. 30, 1793
age 66 years

Robert Martin
Died Aug. 31, 1847
age 82 years and
Wife Nancy Martin
Died Mar. 21, 1834 Age 53

James Aiken, Died Jan. 6, 1798, age 65,
and wife, and beneath same stone, Peter
Aiken, son of William and Henrietta
Aiken of Charleston, who departed this
life on 10th day of May, Winnsborough,
Anno Domini 1811, age 3 yrs. 2 months and
1 day.

William A. McDowell
Born Sept. 23 1839
Died Jan. 26, 1922

In memory of Elizabeth Aiken, wife of
James Aiken, died 16th of Oct. 1803 age
60 yrs. Also of her grandson, Samuel W.
Aiken who died Oct. 10, 1831, age 25 yrs.
9 mo. and 8 days.

James Aiken who died 10th of April
1804, age 31.

John McVea, Sen. Born March 12, 1755
Died, June 28, 1839

Elizabeth McVea, wife of John McVea
Born Nov. 9 1767, Died Dec. 29, 1839

Clerimond McVea,
Born July 2, 1806, Died July 21, 1838

Rebecca McVea
Born Dec. 8, 1794, Died Nov. 1826

Samuel McMillan, Died July 16, 1844
90 years of age

John McMillan, Died 1780, age 50 yrs.

M. Ann McMillan, Died Sept. 15, 1804
age 48

Jane M. Smith, wife of H. A. Smith
Born Sept. 1806, Died June 10, 1855
age 49 yrs. 8 mo. 22 days.

Mary E. Steele, Born Dec. 29, 1827
Died Oct. 7, 1895

Harriet R. McDowell, died May 10, 1838
Marie E. McDowell 1845-1889

Jane Martin, 1815-1848

Elizabeth, daughter of W.M. & Jane
Martin, died 5/25/1847—age 1 yr.
1 mo. and 18 days.

Nancy B., daughter of Wm. M and Jane
Martin 1811-1813

Janet Jamima Brice, James & Jane
Brice

* Greenwood, S. C.

NOTES AND REVIEWS*

South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900. By George Brown Tindall. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 336. Appendix, bibliography, illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

Four years ago Hampton M. Jarrell rescued Wade Hampton from the misrepresentations of the white supremacists, demonstrating convincingly the essential justice and kindness of his Negro policies (*Hampton and the Negro: The Road Not Taken*). George B. Tindall's more scholarly study reinforces Jarrell's conclusions without sharing the latter's tendency to exaggerate Hampton's liberalism. It also traces with painstaking care the evolution in South Carolina of the Southern pattern of discrimination, disfranchisement, segregation and violence in race relations. In so doing it reveals that the pattern developed more slowly and gradually than is generally realized, not reaching its climax until the adoption of the suffrage provisions of the Constitution of 1895 and the railroad segregation law of 1898. The efforts of Negroes to escape such conditions in the exodus to Liberia and the migrations to Kansas, Arkansas, Texas and Florida, are vividly described in terms reminiscent of earlier white hegiras to the West.

While Tindall's discussions of the Negro in politics, the development of the color line and the "white terror" of lynching, represent the most provocative and interesting portions of his work, his most significant contribution lies in his detailed analysis of the "bright thread of Negro progress" in the non-political fields of the "dark tapestry" of post-Reconstruction history. Although the crop-lien system tended to enslave the masses of Negro tenants and farm laborers in "outright peonage," a significant number of the race became landowners. More notable was the progress of the black man in non-agricultural pursuits, where, despite discriminatory practices by white employers—especially in the textile industry—a few laborers, particularly the carpenters, bricklayers and longshoremen of Charleston, participated in effective union activity. In addition, some Negroes won success in business while others achieved prominence in the professions. The rags-to-riches sagas of such men as Randall D. George, who made a fortune in the naval stores business, and the careers of the Negro physicians William D. Crum and A. C. McClellan reflect an aspect of Negro life too often ignored. Although colored schools suffered from discrimination and neglect, "they began to show some progress after the con-

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for each fifty words or less. Copy should be sent The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

stitutional convention of 1895 made greater sums of money available through a new tax program" (p. 305). Illiteracy declined perceptibly if slowly, while institutions of higher learning such as Benedict, Allen, Claflin and the State College at Orangeburg, provided improving facilities for the race. Not the least significant advance was the growth of the Negro church "into a permanent and solidly established institution, with all the major denominations represented by Negro members" (p. 305).

Dr. Tindall has delved exhaustively and widely in his research. Particularly commendable is his use of Negro sources. Some of the most effective portions of his book are the quotations from Negro leaders such as William Holloway, editor of the Charleston *New Era*, and political spokesmen like Thomas E. Miller, James Wigg and Robert Smalls. Then, too, there is the anonymous black voter who remarked of the Hampton Democrats, "Dem says dem *will do dis* and dat. I ain't ax no man what him *will do*—I ax him what him *hab done*" (p. 13).

While *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* is almost a model of thorough research, of objective and judicious interpretations, and parts of it read well, much of it is unfortunately dry and colorless. Moreover, its value would have been enhanced by more background details on the status of the free Negro before the Civil War, comparisons between South Carolina and other Southern states, and an analysis of the role of the Federal government. Perhaps its greatest weakness is its failure to place the story of the South Carolina Negro between 1877 and 1900 in its proper perspective in relation to the evolution of the Negro in the United States as a whole. For all its thoroughness and scholarship, Dr. Tindall's work tends to leave the impression that he has added relatively little of fundamental importance to the understanding of the Negro in America.

The Citadel

GRANVILLE T. PRIOR

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms. Volume II. Collected and Edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, T. C. Duncan Eaves. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press., 1953. Pp. xxix, 610. Illustrations, notes, appendix. \$8.50.)

The second volume of *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms* offers much thought-provoking discussion of local and national politics, with almost countless references to South Carolinians prominent in American life from 1845 to 1850. While Simms was in the state legislature, his friends nominated him for lieutenant governor and suggested his running for Congress; and for years he hoped for a foreign appointment from President Polk. His letters to Benjamin F. Perry, James H. Hammond, and Richard Yeadon demonstrate knowledge of the Texas question, the election of 1848,

the War with Mexico, and the forces leading to the War of Secession. Because of comments on members of well-known families, this book should interest genealogists; its index reads like that of a southern history text.

When Simms writes in 1849, of "the pernicious doctrines of communism," of "cliques and bodies" in New York City whose "organization, . . . numbers, and the progress which attends their efforts" can scarcely be conjectured, the reader is relieved to discover that Simms is referring to Fourierism. Another surprise comes when he states in 1848, that "*good teachers who are known* can always command a very large salary" and adds: "Most of them. . . have made fortunes in ten years. Burns. . . has just retired. . . on \$50,000; and others flourish like green bay trees." Simms's remarks about "ransacking the country for geese and turkies" and "Fine fishing—trout, pike, jack, perch" will arouse nostalgic reminiscences in many readers. Currently interesting are his ideas that "no man over 45 ought to be sent at the head of an invading army," that all the successful generals before 1847 were "*young men*. . . from 30 to 45," and his conclusion: "Old generals are great at obstinate defense; and when over 50 (unless very extraordinary as Old Jackson) ought to be put in defense of fortresses only." Others will enjoy reading of Simms's wife's attempts to "indoctrinate" northern ladies with affection for southern dishes, such as "shrimp pie and potato pone"; his son's museum, with its stuffed wildcats, rattlesnakes, and similar household monstrosities; his daughter's interest in balls and dresses; and possibly bits of current gossip of the 1840's.

By publishing Simms's letters, Mrs. Oliphant and Dr. Eaves are assisting the nation-wide revival of interest in Simms's life and works. To make accessible material for further study, the editors decided not to delete any portions of letters—and to publish all available personal letters. These portray the daily life of the South's busiest, most successful professional author, working under distressingly adverse conditions, yet producing steadily because of his determination to earn a living, make a name for himself, and advance the cause of "*belles lettres*" in the South and the nation.

The reader learns Simms's methods of gathering data for articles, sees him persuading others to write for Southern publications, and follows him through many literary quarrels, two of which almost led to duels. The letters prove that Simms knew how to write, had a stock of literary theories, and accepted constructive criticism. From his letters to William C. Bryant, Margaret Fuller, and Edgar Allan Poe—and his critical comments about Cooper, Irving, Longfellow, and Melville—one realizes that Simms was a national as well as a southern writer.

Because Simms did not write his letters for publication, the reader can judge the character and personality of a man who gave freely of his time

to social activities, community causes, politics, and literature. Today his collected letters are being read, discussed, and praised by reviewers who can now write impartially. The literary value of the collection is suggested by the comments of Dr. Harry Hayden Clark of the University of Wisconsin, authority on American literature and general editor of the American Writers Series, who reviewed the first volume of Simms's letters for the *U. S. Quarterly Book Review*: "I marvel at the tremendous body of invaluable new evidence which should enable readers to see this great writer and great man in a more comprehensive and sympathetic light. . . . Mrs. Oliphant and Mr. Salley and Mr. Eaves are certainly to be thrice-blessed for their great helpfulness in this monumental work."

The Citadel

J. ALLEN MORRIS

The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten. Edited by Ray Allen Billington. (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. 248. Introduction, notes, and index. \$5.00.)

To those who know the South and its people, past and present, this book is just another abolitionist tract. To those who accept in full the William Lloyd Garrison attitude to Negro slavery, it is a valuable contribution to their case against the South. The dust jacket describes it as a diary "by a freed Negro." This description of the author, however, seems to be inaccurate, for she was a mulatto, born in Philadelphia, apparently of free-born parents, though her mother is referred to only as having died when Charlotte was very young. Taught by private tutors in her grandfather's comfortable home, Charlotte completed her education at the Normal School of Salem, Massachusetts, and became a teacher in an unsegregated school of that town. There and elsewhere, she found great joy in almost daily attendance at antislavery lectures and meetings. More than once her teaching was interrupted by what is referred to as "lung fever." In June 1862, after the federal occupation of Beaufort, she arrived there with other abolitionists to teach the freedmen. Later, after some quiet years in Philadelphia, at the age of forty-two, she was married to Francis Grimké, a mulatto, fourteen years her junior, a nephew of Sarah and Angelina Grimké, the abolitionist sisters of Charleston.

To young Charlotte Forten there was no bar to immediate emancipation except the sinister Southern "Slave Power"; Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charles Sumner, and John Brown were her ideals of the great and good; Charleston was "that barbarous place", and the city of her birth, "old abominable Philadelphia"; all slaves were in "bondage worse, a thousand times worse than death." Understandably, she draws a picture of her world which is slanted to her bent.

The editor, a professor of history at Northwestern University, has done

his work competently and almost with reverence. An anti-segregationist, he feels that the *Journal* makes "terrifyingly clear" the effect of prejudice upon its victims; he believes that the book will awaken its readers "to the need for decency among men"; and he earnestly hopes that it will contribute "to better racial understanding."

To this reviewer, *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten* contributes little to a solution of current racial problems, and its bias seems likely to help perpetuate antagonisms and prejudice.

A. K. G.

"Co. Aytch": *Maury Grays First Tennessee Regiment or a Side Show of the Big Show*. By Sam R. Watkins. With an Introduction by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1952. Pp. 231. \$5.00.)

This is a reprint of a book first issued in 1882, and is the memoirs of a Confederate soldier in the First Tennessee Regiment, from the beginning of the war to the end in 1865. Usually, veterans in writing reminiscences of their military careers which have taken place fifteen or twenty years previously, give their service a certain aura of comradeship, glory, and heroism. This book is noteworthy, if for no other reason, because it avoids that pattern. It is the story of the common soldier in the Confederacy, with both his strength and weakness.

Sam R. Watkins who wrote this account was a college-educated Tennessean, who enlisted in the ecstasy that followed immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter. After two months of training, he participated in the unfolding of the war in the west at Shiloh, Corinth, Murfreesboro, Missionary Ridge, Atlanta, and the debacle at Nashville. Subsequently "the once proud Army of Tennessee degenerated to a mob," and when Joseph E. Johnston surrendered it at Greensboro, there were only sixty-five left of the several thousand men who had been in the First Tennessee Regiment. This book is not valuable for its military account: errors in dates, narrowness in viewpoint, and mistaken identities, all weaken its reliability. This is to be expected from a soldier who, only in the closing days of the war, was to advance from a private to a corporal. It is this point of view, however, that gives the book interest and value when it deals with camp life, morale, and officer evaluations.

The author does his best to erase the patina that the years have placed upon most of the Confederate generals and leaders. Staff officers and couriers were called "yaller dogs" by the enlisted men, and Watkins notes: "I always shot at privates. It was they that did the shooting and killing, and if I could kill or wound a private, why, my chances were so much the better. I always looked upon officers as harmless personages." His greatest hatred is reserved for Bragg, who was neither loved nor respected; Hood was a man to be pitied because of his incompetence. Yet for Joseph E.

Johnston, Leonidas Polk and others, Watkins has the greatest admiration for their qualities as men, leaders, and soldiers. In his brief encounter with Lee, he described him as "like some good boy's grandpa." It is amazing to note how the morale of the army surged or ebbed with the changes of command.

There are many phases of army life which he describes that can hardly provoke pride: the lice, rats, cheating, brutality, stench of a battle field, soul-shrivelling hatred, and cheapness of a human life. But this, too, is war as well as the brief moments of patriotism, glory, and self sacrifice.

A soldier's life is not a pleasant one. It is always, at best, one of privations and hardships. The emotions of patriotism and pleasure hardly counterbalance the toil and suffering that he has to undergo in order to enjoy his patriotism and pleasure. Dying on the field of battle and glory is about the easiest duty that a soldier has to undergo. It is the living, marching, fighting, shooting soldier that has the hardships of war to carry. When a brave soldier is killed he is at rest.

The pattern of war is changeless.

Bell Irvin Wiley, editor of this reprint, has long been interested in the people of the Old South and he evidently felt that this was too important a book not to be better known. He has appended an excellent introduction which contains a critical analysis of the book as well as a sketch of the author and printings. It is a book that will entertain as well as inform both the general reader and the scholar, and publisher and editor are to be commended for making it, by means of this reprint, available for wider circulation.

The Citadel

CHARLES L. ANGER

Adams-Caruthers-Clancy Neely and Townsend Descendants composing the Adams-Legerton-Wakefield-Brockmann and other Twentieth-Century Families of the Carolinas. By Charles Raven Brockmann. (Charlotte, North Carolina, 1950. Pp. 118. Index. Illustrations and coats-of-arms in color.)

The briefing of title tells most of what a reader would want to know of the content of this book. It has been handsomely done, and the index is agreeably ample. It gives a great deal of interesting information that will be increasingly valuable to genealogist, and more so still if this Carolina connection should continue to increase in numbers and substance in future anywhere as much as it did in the past.

S. G. S.

Ancestry of the Buchanan Family of Fairfield County, South Carolina. By Louise M. McMaster. (Off-set. Pp. 35. Bibliography.)

Ulstermen made up a great part of the basic population of this state and

nation, mustering strongest in this part of it in the middle and up countries. Fairfield was notably one of their settlements, and the Buchanans one of its representative families. Charts, sketches of individuals, copies of documents, in this publication, while of primary interest to the kindred involved, add considerably to the history of them and their country. Some account of several very respectable Tories show how plainly the too often misused *Civil* might be most properly applied to the Revolution, and so further removed from the War between the States.

S. G. S.

Roderick McIver and His Family. By Louise McIver McMaster. (Offset. Columbia, 1952. Pp. 45, 1952. \$5.)

Each religious or political rising in Scotland after the founding of South Carolina brought another draft of fighting blood to this colony. The McIvers came after the '45, bringing qualities that the community around the Cheraws could use and applaud. Not the least of their many services to this state, in peace and war, have been the use of such romantically handsome names as Roderick Evander McIver, and the contribution of such romantically interesting persons as the half-McIver, I'On Perdicaris, whose kidnapping by the Moroccan bandit, Rasuli, in 1904, made an international incident. This very interesting collection of historical and family data would have been made even valuable by an index.

S. G. S.

History of the Darlington Presbyterian Church 1827-1952. By Julia Gregg Ervin. (Darlington, S. C.: [News and Press, 1952]. Pp. 42. Illustrations.)

This pamphlet was written for the congregation, chiefly from the records of the church, as a part of the celebration of its one hundredth and twenty-fifth anniversary. Especially interesting are the excerpts on church discipline. The author, one of the founders of the Darlington Historical Society and historian of the church for some two decades, has had a lifelong interest in history and understands the value of records.

THE SOCIETY

Effective at the end of June were two staff resignations, those of Miss Elizabeth Heyward Jervy, secretary, who has been with the Society since 1928; and Mrs. Caroline Smith Toms, treasurer, who came to us in 1951. Mrs. R. H. Simmons is now in charge at the Fireproof Building, serving in both capacities.

CORRECTIONS FOR RECORDS OF GEORGE RHODES

The Rev. E. H. Peebles in his introduction (p. 101, April issue, this *Magazine*) says that Mrs. James Pringle was an aunt of George Rhodes.

Mrs. James Reid Pringle was a daughter of General John McPherson and his wife Susan Miles, his first cousin, who was sixteen years old at the time of their marriage in March 1776. She was then living with an aunt, name not given, a strict Presbyterian. Susan Miles' mother, then deceased, was Elizabeth McPherson, daughter of Captain James McPherson, the Indian fighter, and his wife Rachel Miles. General John McPherson, a grandson of Captain James McPherson, was the only surviving son of John and Martha McPherson. Possibly Rachel Miles, who married Thomas Cater about 1775, was a sister of Susan Miles who married General John McPherson. Thomas Miles Cater, son of Thomas and Rachel (Miles) Cater, must have been a brother, not the father, of Mary Cater, born June 25, 1776. Mary Cater Rhodes' son, George, would have been a great-nephew of Susan Miles McPherson, Mrs. James Pringle's mother, not a nephew of Mrs. Pringle. Elizabeth Mary McPherson, born about 1782, was a favorite of her father, General McPherson, and was alone with him when the vessel on which they had embarked for New York, the "Rose-in-bloom", sank on August 24, 1806. She was married to James Reid Pringle on March 17, 1807, by Mr. Pringle's step-grandfather, the Rev. Edward Jenkins. James Reid Pringle was a son of Dr. Robert Pringle and his first wife, Mary Reid. There is no other James Pringle until the birth of the son of James Reid Pringle and Elizabeth M., on July 28, 1813.

The obituary of Captain Thomas Rhodes (this *Magazine*, XXXIII, 68), nephew of John Rhodes of Beaufort, says that he died on Callawassi Island, St. Luke's Parish, on April 25, 1809, not "before 1805," as stated.

MARY PRINGLE FENHAVEN

GRANTS-IN-AID

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of studies in the field of American history prior to 1815. Requests for information should be addressed to the Director, box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

At the annual Council meeting of the Institute in May 1953, a grant was awarded Dr. Joseph I. Waring of Charleston for work on the History of Medicine in South Carolina to 1815.

DARLINGTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The present officers of this society are: Marion R. Carrigan, president; D. A. Cohen, vice-president; Jacquelyn Douglas, secretary-treasurer. The speakers and subjects of the programs, 1952-1953, were: Mrs. K. L. Hill, "Old Homes of Society Hill"; Dr. Hennig Cohen, "The South Carolina Gazette"; and Dr. John A. Cawthon, "The Darby Letters". The society has a fireproof vault in the Darlington Public Library, for storage of its valuable documents and other records. The present membership is 253,

of whom 13 are out-of-county, and 4 are out-of-state. At the three meetings which are held each year the attendance averages between 125 and 150.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Benjamin Perry (will, Kershaw, 1789) and James Perry (will, Kershaw, 1806) were brothers in Camden District before 1787, probably before Revolution. Want their parents, origin, and descendants in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi. Will be glad to exchange information. J. B. Perry, Jr., Box 1125, Grenada, Mississippi.

Walter Weston Folger, 205 Island Avenue, Chattanooga, Tennessee, wants information on John Gambrell (probably born in Virginia; died Anderson County, South Carolina, 1834) and first wife, probably Catharine, daughter of George Bruton or Brewton (died Spartanburg County, 1815). Daughter Nancy Gambrell (1794-1867) married Enoch Breazeale (1788-1850).

Who were the parents of William and Ann Reid? Ann married Thomas McCants of Williamsburg County, who died in 1791. Ann died in 1824. Her two sons were Robert Reid and James. William is mentioned in Thomas McCants' will as brother-in-law. Marion J. McCants, Box 294, Walterboro, S. C.

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